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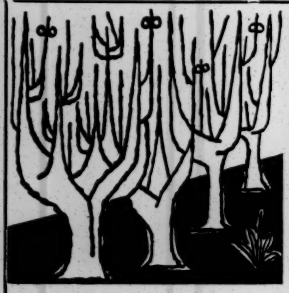

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# THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD

## PART I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The term ecclesiastical orders of knighthood embraces those knightly orders which, in one way or another, are connected with the Catholic Church. At the present time they are in two different groups: the pontifical orders of knighthood in the strict sense and a group of chivalric orders which derive from medieval military orders and continue to come under ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Pontifical or Papal Orders of Knighthood are conferred directly by His Holiness the Pope (*Ordini Equestri Pontifici, conferiti direttamente dal Sommo Pontefice con lettere apostoliche*). They include: the Supreme Order of Christ, the Order of the Golden Spur, the Order of Pius, the Order of Saint Gregory the Great, and the Order of Saint Sylvester, Pope.[1]

The remaining group identified with ecclesiastical orders of knighthood is that of religious military orders. Originally they were religious orders of lay brothers and as such came under the jurisdiction of the Holy See. They enjoyed the approbation and protection of the Holy Father, and it is in that sense they partake of the name, pontifical. Yet they always had a certain autonomy, in that they had their own government, with a grand master at

[1] *The American Ecclesiastical Review,* XXXVII (1907), 497-503, carried an article by Joseph J. Murphy under the title, "Pontifical Decorations," as they were reorganized by Pope Pius X. In the same volume (pp. 324-26) a correspondent criticized the Pope for being "exceedingly lavish in his bestowal" of knighthood and other such honors and he felt that the spirit of a republican community "is entirely against their bestowal." Three years later ("Roman Curial Honors and American Republican Sentiment," *AER,* XLII [1910], 341-44), another (or the same?) correspondent expressed the conviction that the Papal appointments to "knights, marquises, monsignori and the like . . . are entirely out of place in America and even contrary to the spirit of our people, if not also to the letter of the Constitution." In both cases the editor's equivocal comment left no doubt that he wished to run with the hares and hold with the hounds, and his statement that "such decorations as go with these titles are of much the same character as the secret society emblems and titles used in our numerous American fraternities" was, if not startling, at least amusing.

the head, whose office was similar to that of a Superior General of a religious order. Most of these ancient military orders are now extinct or have become purely secular orders of knighthood. A few have retained some features of their ecclesiastical character. They are the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, known also as the Order of Malta, the Teutonic Order, and the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, as well as the extant Spanish Military Orders.

Difference in objective is another important feature between the two groups. The military orders, from the outset, pursued a specific purpose, as the care of the sick and the poor, the protection of the faith, crusading against infidels. This survives today in the existing military orders though in a much modified form.

All other existing orders of knighthood, be they ancient or more recent in origin, are honorary and mere orders of merit. Their only purpose is that of bestowing tokens of respect for well-deserving citizens, to reward military or civil services to the country or the crown, to recognize merit in the field of art, science, charity, or business. Orders of merit are "orders" only in the broad sense of the term; they have a constitution or statutes, but such documents usually contain little more than a description of the origin of the order, its privileges and the degrees of its members as well as the reason for conferring the order and its form of the decorations. In fact, the term "order" has come to be limited to the insignia which the members are entitled to wear.

Within the framework of the above twofold classification of pontifical and military orders, another dual grouping exists which is based on historical criteria. Some of the ecclesiastical orders of knighthood go back to the age of chivalry; this is certainly the case with the military orders, the Order of Christ, and probably the Order of the Golden Spur. The origin of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre is still historically debatable. The remaining pontifical orders of knighthood were established long after the age of chivalry came to a close.

Distinct from the orders of knighthood are a certain number of ecclesiastical decorations. These are marks of honor (*distintivi de onore*), without, however, extending the title of Knight to the recipient. It is, therefore, incorrect to designate a person receiving such an honor as knighted by the Pope, as it is equally incorrect

to put all the ecclesiastical orders of knighthood under the heading of papal decorations.

Ecclesiastical decorations, like the ecclesiastical orders of knighthood, are of two kinds. Those bestowed directly by the Holy See and consequently strictly pontifical are the Cross "Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice" and the Medal "Benemerenti." The second category are those approved by the Holy See and their recipients may wear the decoration at the papal court and at ecclesiastical ceremonies. The honor, however, is not granted directly by the Pope. An example thereof is the Lateran Cross, which is conferred by the Chapter of the Basilica of Saint John Lateran.

This brief outline will be clarified as the various orders are treated in subsequent articles. It is our intention in the present article to confine ourselves to a survey of the historical background of the orders of knighthood.

Although much of the information about the early beginnings of knighthood is rooted in conjecture, a plausible thesis would make knighthood coincide with the rise of the cavalry in Europe, during the first half of the eighth century. It coincides with the times when the Christians in the encounters with the Saracens soon discovered that their infantry were no match for those who fought on horseback. Such armies had much greater mobility, and the center of gravity in the Christian military strategy shifted accordingly.

Throughout the first hundred years after this new horseback "militia" had been introduced, all free men could join it, on condition that they were able to provide a horse and equip it at their own expense. Only people of some means could afford this luxury, and the wealthier class was that of the landowners. Service in the cavalry, therefore, implied the possessing of some property, preferably in the form of land.

A revolutionary innovation took place simultaneously in the system of land ownership, changing from an allodial, i.e., absolute ownership, to a feudal system. That is why the horseback military service came to be linked with the feudal method of land tenure. It accounts for the historical development of knighthood being so closely related to the history of the feudal system. The history of feudal land ownership is hardly pertinent here, and it will suffice here to state that the tenants-in-chief and their subalterns in the

feudal system formed the cavalry of the army; they were the horsemen, chevaliers, or knights. That is how the original form of knighthood became so intimately associated with the tenure of land, and how the knights were known as feudal knights.

While the knights were initially landed gentry, gradually—and already a considerable time before the Crusades—a different type of knight appeared, namely, that of the horseman without land. Equally so, knighthood began to constitute a distinct social class. No longer was feudal tenure the background of knighthood but rather personal valor. The development was the consequence of the custom of primogeniture as it existed in the Frankish form of the feudal system.

Two types of feudal succession were known on the European continent. Where the Longobard feudal law held sway, as was the case in Italy, at the death of the feudatory incumbent, the land was divided among his male heirs. In many cases the original fief was cut into ever smaller portions during successive generations. This gentry were still landholders, even though their financial position, due to the divisions and subdivisions of the ancestral property, might not be much better economically than that of the peasants who actually worked the land.

In France and other countries where the Frankish feudal system prevailed, conditions were altogether different. Here, according to the law of primogeniture, the entire feud passed to the eldest son, who was then bound by an oath of fealty to his overlord. The younger sons had to be satisfied with precious little; they might make a livelihood by offering their service to their eldest brother, in which case they were obliged to do the menial work of the estate very much the same as that of domestics and peasants. It is quite understandable that many of these younger sons, particularly the less amenable and the more venturesome, could be expected to scorn such an inferior station in life. Being of noble birth, this dispossessed youth might say with the steward of the gospel: "What shall I do? . . . To dig I am not able; to beg I am ashamed." Only two callings were open to them, the priestly or the military vocation, and of the two the calling of soldier was far more attractive. Upon leaving the paternal domain, they usually were given a horse and armor to aid in their search for economic independence. For the most part, they did not have to look long,

because war was in progress all over Europe among the many and small feudal states. Yet, because they were no longer aligned with the feudal hierarchy, they had no obligation to render military service to any specific lord and could approach the highest bidder. This meant that a new and ever increasing group of independent, non-feudal horsemen came into existence who sought to win their spurs on their own merit. They became knights, not because they happened to have a feudal estate, but because of personal exploits on the battlefield. These soldiers frequently gained more than glory and honor inasmuch as a grateful employer who had taken them into his pay would extend his bounty to presenting them with a castle and some land, upon success in a military expedition. The medieval right of plunder could provide the victorious knight with the necessary accoutrement to furnish his newly-won castle. One readily appreciates the consolidation of the economic position for those concerned. There was this difference, however, that their possessions came to them not by right of birth but by personal valor.

The same kind of knight appeared also in the lands of the Longobard feudal system. The small gentry in Italy, unsatisfied with what little they possessed, often offered their military services to the rapidly growing townships. This eventually bettered their economic as well as their political status.

Two types of knighthood were then in existence, the older form of territorial knighthood concentrated in ruling fief-holders, and the newer form, that of chivalry founded on individual military service. Since the latter was bestowed upon a soldier independently of a fief, it might be called non-feudatory knighthood.

As the non-feudal knights grew to be the more numerous, knighthood became a separate class of society. Like any other social institution, knighthood passed through the storm-and-stress period of adolescence. Knights in the tenth and part of the eleventh centuries were often enough no more than bands of lawless brigands. Living as they did outside the ranks of the feudal hierarchy, these "gentlemen" interpreted the fact of not being bound by fealty to any particular master as a kind of charter of freedom from all laws and prohibitions. As narrated in the medieval lays or ballads, the examples of lawlessness and cruelty among some knights are, of course, outstanding. Yet, this new social class was

indeed a menace to society. It was understandable, in the long run, that the authorities should look for means to call a halt to the excesses. In this effort the civil authorities were strongly supported by the Church, which launched a kind of peace offensive, endeavoring to direct the crude energies of knighthood into right channels and make of the new class an instrument of good in the social structure. There was success so that little by little knighthood became respectable to a remarkable degree. The reaction described had set in at the end of the tenth century, and a century later a change for the better in the moral life of the knights was everywhere in evidence. The reform was, however, not due exclusively to outside forces. As a class, the knights had the same needs and the same aspirations; and the better elements among them would try to enter into some sort of common tie. That common bond was a code of honor for knighthood and came to be generally accepted by the end of the eleventh century, namely around the time of the first Crusade. The motto of a good knight was succinctly expressed in the following Italian rhyme: *"La mia anima a Dio, la mia vita al Re, il mio cuore alla Dama, l'onore per me* (My soul to God, my life to the Crown, my heart to the Lady, my own the renown)." The duties of a knight broadened into that of protecting and defending the Church, the widows, the orphans and the oppressed, of vindicating justice, and of avenging evil. The catalogue of the cardinal virtues for chivalry included courtesy, valor, class loyalty, self-denial, munificence, and hospitality. The code was well-nigh theoretically perfect, even if all knights did not observe it in practice. As a matter of fact, the virtues to which the knight was dedicated sometimes led to exaggerations, distortions, and their very opposite.

The high point in the age of chivalry came during the Crusades, those religious wars waged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Christians of Western Europe against the Mohammedans for the recovery of the Holy Land. An interaction came about between the Crusades and chivalry. The spirit of chivalry was largely responsible for making possible these campaigns for a religious ideal. Thereby, the Crusades provided a powerful impetus in the development of knighthood, for it was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that chivalry attained its highest peak both in quality and quantity. The Crusades did not create a new

type of knighthood, but they gave the knights a chance to show their mettle.

When the landless soldiers of the Cross distinguished themselves in battle just as well or perhaps even better than the feudal knights, it was reasonable that they should claim their reward. If they fought as well as those who owed knighthood to their feudal status, why should they not claim the honors and benefits of knighthood? In that way the Crusades gave the horsemen large scale opportunity to become knights through personal valor. However, the *conditio sine qua non* for becoming a knight at this time was still the old law that the candidates should be of noble birth, that is to say, that they could trace their descent from the ancient feudal families. In the century following the Crusades the decline of knighthood set in, and it is generally admitted that by 1500 the age of chivalry had passed. Then it was that its tradition and spirit were kept alive in the orders of knighthood.

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD

The first orders of knighthood were radically of a religious nature inasmuch as they pursued a religious purpose and were organized like other religious communities. The order of knighthood was composed of a body of knights, united by some common objective as the care of the sick or the defense of the Catholic faith, and who were pledged with the vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, led a community life under a chosen head and professed a common rule approved by the ecclesiastical authorities.

The birthplace of all orders of knighthood was the Holy Land and they appeared during the period of the Crusades. True, some historians attempt to date the origin of the military orders as far back in antiquity as possible, for instance, to Charlemagne and his paladins or to Constantine the Great and his mother, Saint Helena. The claims of such ancestry fanatics to the contrary notwithstanding, it can safely be said that no military order of knighthood, either regular or secular, came into existence before the first Crusade, as the Bollandist Papebrock said in 1738: "Fallunt aut volentes falluntur adulatores studio placendi abrepti, quicumque militarium religionum principia ante XII saeculum requirunt" (*AA. SS. Boll.*, Apr., III, 155).

The Holy Land was the scene of the rise of three types of religious orders. Some were orders of charity, or hospital orders, dedi-

cating themselves to the care of the poor and sick pilgrims who came to visit the holy places. The oldest and most famous was the Order of Saint Lazarus which was functioning even before the Crusades began. Its scope was the care of lepers; moreover, lepers could become members of the congregation, and it has been alleged that during a period of its existence the grand master was chosen from among these sorely afflicted members. The confraternity always remained primarily an order of charity. The fact that the brothers admitted some knights stricken with leprosy who gave aid to the crusaders, particularly during the siege of Acre, when the common cause demanded everybody's efforts, is certainly not sufficient reason to call the congregation of Saint Lazarus a military order of knighthood. Nonetheless, many centuries after their expulsion from the Holy Land, the remnants of this congregation were absorbed into a military order, as we shall see hereafter.

A second group of religious orders founded in the Holy Land had an exclusively military objective, inasmuch as their purpose was to protect the pilgrims against the attacks of the Moslems and to defend the cause of the Cross. The prototype of such knightly societies was the Order of the Temple.

The third type of religious order in Palestine was of a mixed character, combining works of charity with military service. The most illustrious examples of this group were the Order of Saint John in Jerusalem and the Teutonic Order.

Due to their predominant military character, only the last two groups are orders of knighthood in the strict sense of the word. Their members combined the seemingly contrasting qualities of soldiers and monks, of "militia" and "religio." Being a "religio" such orders needed ecclesiastical approbation, but as a "religio militaris" they needed special authorization from the Holy See which alone could give religious persons permission "hostem ferire sine culpa," "blamelessly to strike the enemy."[2]

The orders founded in the Holy Land during the Crusades were the original military orders. The pattern of the military orders founded in the Holy Land during the Crusades was subsequently copied in various countries of Europe. We may distinguish several

[2] Pio Paschini, "Ordini Equestri," *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, IX, col. 252.

groups which show an ever increasing secular element and a decrease of ecclesiastical ties. Of each group only a few examples can be cited, omitting those of lesser significance.

The most faithful imitators of the original orders are the military orders set up in the Iberian Peninsula. Although founded by the kings of Spain and Portugal and used by them for their own purposes, these orders were directly dependent on the Holy See at first. Only later, when the sovereigns took over the grandmastership and made it hereditary in their family, did they lose their independence, without, however, abandoning their religious character.

The principal military orders in Italy came into existence at a rather late date in history, on or after 1500, a date traditionally accepted as marking the end of the age of chivalry. With the grand mastership vested in the crown, these Italian orders harbored the same cause for deterioration as eventually appeared in the Spanish orders, because they were dynastic orders from the start. Nonetheless, the Italian military orders greatly resembled the original ones, both in objective and organization. They aspired to the protection of the Italian coastline against the Moslem pirates from the Barbary States in North Africa who at the time were infesting the Mediterranean; they harassed the merchant marine and sporadically attacked harbors and towns along the coast. The objective of these orders, then, was much the same as that of the Order of Malta at that time, namely sea-warfare against Islam. Such an organization was the Order of Saint Stephen, established in 1562 by Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with the approval of the Holy Father. The knights of this order which had headquarters at Pisa cleared the Mediterranean of corsairs and took an active part in the battle of Lepanto. Eventually, however, it disintegrated, became completely secularized and survived as an order of merit.

The Order of Saint Maurice and Lazarus, founded in 1572 by Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoia, has an intriguing history. Comparatively late in origin, it was a merger of two pre-existing institutions which date back to much earlier times.

One was the hospital congregation of Saint Lazarus, previously mentioned. After the fall of Acre the fraternity was transferred to Europe and for some time flourished in France. The Italian branch

soon declined and was finally suppressed by Pope Innocent VIII in 1490. There remained, however, the possessions of the order and these were handed over to certain gentlemen who, far from having an interest in lepers, did little else but appropriate the revenues for their own use.

The second institution was the so-called Order of Saint Maurice which, if it was an order at all, hardly merited the name of a military order by any stretch of the imagination. Yet whatever it lacked of the military spirit has since been largely supplied by romance, insofar as it was involved in the story of a layman who became antipope. When Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoia, renounced the throne, he retired to Ripaglia where he had built a church in honor of the holy martyr Maurice to whom the house of Savoia had a special devotion. There, in 1434, the duke with five other knights established the Sacred Militia of Saint Maurice—a rather pompous title for a group of elderly widowers who had retired into a hermitage.

Four years later, the remnants of the Council of Basle revolted against the legitimate Pope Eugene IV and elected the above-mentioned Amadeus. He accepted under the title of Felix V and abandoned his solitude in Ripaglia in the company of the other knightly widowers. Thenceforth history has little to tell about the Sacred Militia of Saint Maurice. In 1572, Emmanuel Philibert, after lengthy negotiations, obtained from Pope Gregory XIII permission to allot the possessions of the Order of Saint Lazarus in his territory to the languishing Order of Saint Maurice. Out of this merger developed the military religious Order of Saint Maurice and Lazarus—the last of the military orders to come into existence. Its objective was to curtail piracy on the high seas and combat the enemies of the faith. However, the institution from its very inception was an affair of the Savoian dynasty, the duke and his successors assuming the office of grand master. The knights vowed obedience to the duke and were subject to him not only as vassals but also by virtue of a religious vow. They pledged themselves to serve in the convents of the order for five years; one of these convents was in Turin for the ground forces and the other in Nice for the naval forces. The character of the Order of

St. Maurice and Lazarus was completely changed when Victor Emmanuel II, in 1860, made it a simple order of merit.

Other dynastic orders of knighthood having some ties with the Church were quite different. The motives for establishing them were various. Some owed their origin simply to a chance occasion or a romantic event not infrequently of a frivolous nature; some were commemorative of a signal victory in battle or the accession of a prince to the throne. Often enough, politics played a role, when a sovereign would wish to bind his nobles closer to the crown.

By way of example, we shall mention here some of the more illustrious dynastic orders of knighthood.

The Supreme Order of the Annunciation was set up in 1364 by Amadeus VI, Count of Savoia, during a tournament which was held to celebrate the victory of Savoia over a rival, the Marquis of Salusso. It would seem that similar brotherhoods in arms had existed at the Savoyard court under such romantic titles as the Round Table of the Black Swan, of the Green Knights, and the like, but the new order was to achieve a permanent character. At first, the objective of the newly organized group was only fun and love, as evidenced by the love symbols that decorated the collar of the knights. For that reason the brotherhood was dubbed the Order of the Collar. A year later when Count Amadeus made a trip to Constantinople and came in touch with the then extant religious military orders, he dedicated the fraternity to the Blessed Virgin. The religious element was heightened in the symbolic figure of fifteen knights, representing the fifteen mysteries of Our Lady. When the knights themselves had no time to say many prayers, they were quite satisfied to find a convenient substitute for their religious obligations in the persons of fifteen Carthusian monks at the Chapter House of Pierre Chatal. The latter became the seat of the order. Their first and last duty was to honor and serve faithfully their sovereign, the count, and provide him with material benefits. Such privileges as exemptions from taxes, a seat in the senate, and financial support from the crown in case of necessity were given in return to the knights. In 1518 Duke Charles III attached to the knight's collar a medal representing the Annunciation of Our Lady, and from that time the fraternity became known as the Order of the Collar and the Annunciation.

Moreover, the duke augmented the enrollment with five more knights, in honor of the five wounds of Christ.

In 1869, Victor Emmanuel II, who was soon to become King of a united Italy, changed the character of the order; it was to be simply a means of rewarding a restricted number of persons for outstanding services to the dynasty or the state.

The Order of the Golden Fleece was founded by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1429, on the occasion of his marriage with the Infanta Isabella of Portugal at Bruges in the Netherlands. Pope Eugene IV gave approval in 1433 as did also Leo X in 1516. Of course, the origin and the name enjoy the aura of the usual legends, one of which is that the duke wished to commemorate the golden hair of Mary of Rumbrugge with whom he was supposed to be in love. If such is true, the order was certainly a peculiar wedding gift for his legitimate wife. The knights, who numbered thirty-one, were staunchly organized, and the order soon achieved great fame and was reputed to embody the very spirit of chivalry. The Dukes of Burgundy and their successors acted as grand masters. Eventually, it became an order of merit divided into two branches, one under the jurisdiction of the Austrian Hapsburgs and the other under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Bourbons. With the overthrow of both of these houses the order is in abeyance.

The French King Louis XI founded the Order of Saint Michael in 1469. After having fallen into disrepute, because it took in all kinds of members, its decoration was dubbed *"le collier à toutes bêtes*—the collar to fit every animal." The Order of the Holy Ghost replaced it in 1573 under King Henry III. The investiture of the knights was ritualized with pompous religious ceremonies.[3]

The foregoing examples emphasize the fact that these and similar knightly fraternities were not without certain religious features. The brotherhood was placed under the protection of a patron saint; it might receive papal approbation; the meeting place of the knights included a chapel; and the gatherings of the knights as

[3] Cf. Wm. F. Stadelman, "The Royal Order of the Saint Esprit" (*AER*, LIV [1916], 641-61). There was an older Order of the Holy Ghost, established in Naples in 1352 by Louis of Taranto, but it hardly survived the death of its founder. Cf. Stadelman, "The Knights of the Holy Ghost of the Good Intention" (*AER*, LIV [1914], 652-69).

well as the initiation of a new member were graced with religious rites. The rule of these societies imposed upon their members a virtuous life, as was fitting for a true knight, such as the devotion to the Holy Spirit or the Blessed Virgin. Sometimes the statutes exhorted the members to attend daily Mass, and prescribed the reception of the sacraments twice or three times a year as well as the daily recitation of a part of the divine office. However, the dynastic orders of knighthood were different in character from the original military orders, with little of "religio" and still less of "militia." Despite some religious features, the members did not take the canonical vows, except the oath of fidelity to the crown, neither did they live in common. Their military exploits, too, were quite insignificant in comparison with those of the Templars or the Hospitallers. When these knights fought at all, they did so not in a body, but rather as individuals. The very exclusiveness of the Golden Fleece (thirty-one knights) or the Annunziata Order (fifteen and later twenty knights) excluded all large scale feats. Besides, the objective of their military activities was not the defense of the faith, but the conquest of any enemy with whom their sovereign might become embroiled.

Further development of almost all orders of knighthood is one of monotonous regularity. Those which did not become extinct were completely secularized, some during the course of the Reformation and others during the French Revolution. The latter abolished all orders of knighthood in France, but in 1802 Napoleon re-established an order of knighthood—that of the Legion of Honor. It was merely an order of merit, and served as a model not only for the newer but also reverted upon the older still existing orders.

A few orders of knighthood did not become reduced to mere orders of merit and did retain a link with the Church. These include the Order of Malta, that of the Teutonic Knights, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Iberian military orders, which will be the subject of the subsequent articles.

*(To be continued)*

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## SPOUSE OF THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST

Christ, the Lord of generations, is the only child that chose His mother; in doing so, He chose her to be our Mother, and us to be His brothers and sisters. Sanctifying grace as the divine Life of Christ in us, making us brethren of Christ, makes us, *ipso facto,* the adopted children of Mary. The action of the same Holy Spirit, which gave her the natural Son of God to be her human Son, gave us, the natural children of other men, to be her divine children. Our divine adoption is not a mere convention and an exterior acceptance of us as children of God; our adoption as children of Mary consists in much more than a mere committal of us to her care.

Christ, joined to us by His Humanity, joins us with the Father by the influence of the Holy Spirit, through an interior bond, the most intimate one possible—through His divinity, naturalized, as it were, in our soul. Living by His life, we enter in the Life of the august and blessed Trinity. Similarly, Christ, joined to us through His divinity as our soul's very Life, joins us through the interior bond of His Humanity with Mary. Living with the Life of her Son, we enter into the family of her children. "In the glory of the Lily," the influence of the Holy Spirit on Mary makes Christ her natural child, makes us her adopted children, makes Christ our human Brother by the Incarnation, so that it may make Him our divine Brother in Grace. As Gerard Manley Hopkins wrote:

> Of her flesh He took flesh:
> He does take flesh and flesh
> Though much the mystery how,
> Not flesh but spirit now
> And makes, O marvellous!
> New Nazareths in us,
> Where she shall yet conceive
> Him, morning, noon, and eve;
> New Bethlems, and be born
> There, evening, noon, and morn.

He ate her food; He breathed her breath; and the energy of her heart was the energy of the pulsations of His Heart. Mary is

the one Mother of all supernatural children. Mary transmitted her human life only to One, in whom she transmits divine Life to all her supernatural brood. We, who live with His divine Life, must, like Mary, transmit our human lives to Him; He must eat our food, breathe our breath, work our works; and His Heart must beat in the pulsations of ours.

Eve was so named "because she was the mother of all the living" (*Gen.* 3:20). With far more reason, Mary is called "the second Eve," as from her came to all mankind Life, not natural and human, but supernatural and divine, "the mother of all the supernaturally living."

Unique universal mother of all mankind, Mary sees in us her own Son's divine Life animating our souls—that life, which, indeed, she did not give Him, but nevertheless is the Life of the Person of her natural child. Thus the Humanity of Christ, making the Word her Child, makes us also her children inasmuch as it makes possible the indwelling of the Word in us. Seeing our supernatural oneness with her Jesus, she can say of us in wonderful fullness of meaning, as the Father said of Jesus: "This is my beloved child in whom I am well pleased. This is my child to whom I have given supernatural Life, in giving my divine Son His human Life." All that Mary loves in us maternally is her Jesus, participated in us, either actually or potentially; and her value for us, as our Mother, is that she is the mother of Jesus, our Life.

From their family likeness, we often know that two men are brothers, or that a man and woman are brother and sister. Christ has bestowed on us through Grace His divine family likeness. By it our divine Father and human mother Mary look upon us and see in us their children, the brothers and sisters of their Son. We look like our Brother divinely, as His Mother looks like Him: humanly, because of His human birth from her, and divinely, because of her divine birth from Him. Her human face and character are extremely like His, since she alone gave Him His human nature. In her face and human character, the blessed see forever the human face and character of their Saviour. But also, and wonderfully, they see in His divine Face and Character the divine face and character of their Mother and Queen. We look like our

Mother divinely because we look like her Son divinely. All Mary's meaning, like ours, is in her divine Child.

"The light of Thy countenance is signed upon us" (*Psalm* 4:7). On these words, St. Cyril of Alexandria comments:

> We have been sealed by the Holy Spirit as a representation and likeness of the countenance of the Father, that is, as a likeness of the Son. Paul has been witness to this fact, when he wrote: "But we, with open face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are transformed from the same likeness from glory to glory as by the Spirit of the Lord."[1]

The exultation of St. Stanislaus Kostka should be also often in our hearts: "The Mother of God is my Mother!" just as the exultation of Mary: "He that is mighty hath done great things to me!" arose from her realization that "My Son is the Son of the Most High God!" Mary's sea-deep love for us, her divine children, is explained by Bossuet: "A consideration, which greatly increases the affection of a mother for her child, is the great dignity in its father";[2] and we her children with Christ are the children of the infinite God.

Mother of divine Grace, with the right of a child, which has received its real Life from thee, I can say: Thou art my Mother. Immeasurably more art thou my Mother, O Mother of Christ, than is the mother of the life of my flesh. Thou art the Mother of the Life of my soul. Gate of Heaven, thou hast not given me a life that after a short time is to weaken and die out. Most admirable Mother, thou hast given me the Life of thy life, and for my soul's food, the Substance of thy substance.

Christ, yearning for the acquisition of brethren, addresses each of us in the words of the Song of Songs (8:1, 2):

> Who will give thee to Me as My brother,
> Feeding at the breast of My Mother?
> So that I shall find thee outside . . .
> I shall take hold of thee and I shall lead thee
> Into the home of My Mother.

Our feeling that "we two" are living our human and divine lives in grace, our sense that we are the shadow of the ever-present and solely worthful Substance, that our two hearts are

[1] Dialogue 4 on the Trinity (*MPG*, LXXIV, 946).
[2] Sermon for the Feast of the Rosary, 1651.

to beat always with the one love, that our minds are to think always the same thought, should be similar to the duality of Mary's life, to whom we can adapt the beautiful sentiments of Elizabeth Browning:

> I feel that I shall stand
> Henceforth in Thy shadow. Nevermore
> Alone upon the threshold of my door
> Of individual life, I shall command
> The uses of my soul, nor lift mine hand . . .
> Thy Heart in mine
> With pulses that beat double. What I do
> And what I dream include Thee, as the wine
> Must taste of its own grapes. And when I sue
> God for mankind, He hears that Name of Thine,
> And sees within my eyes the tears of two.

On the cross, Christ consummated the redemption and sanctification of mankind by making man the adopted fellow child of God, His brother and sister, His "alter ego," an "other Christ," a Christian. For this reason His words from the cross to us in the person of John did not so much constitute Mary our mother, as assert and promulgate her already established Motherhood of all "other Christs" and of Christianity. That motherhood was really constituted from the time of the Annunciation, although it was fully realized by His realization of our salvation through His Passion and His whole life on earth. "Through Jesus Christ in whom we have redemption . . . according to the riches of His grace, God has predestined us to the adoption of children unto Himself according to the purpose of His will" (*Eph.* 1:5).

God has fittingly disposed that the central mystery of Christianity, the conception of the divine Son of God as the human Son of Mary, should be, at once, the incredible manifestation of the love of the Heart of the Godman for man, and the manifestation of the transcendent dignity and beauty of the Immaculate Heart of His Mother. St. Augustine, after St. Paul, insists that the whole Christ, the Redeemer, is Jesus and the Church, the Mystical Body, in which He dwells as its Life and Saviour. So, Mary could not love Jesus without loving Him wholly, with maternal love for us His Mystical Body. Thinking and concerned about Him, she could not help thinking and being concerned about us. "With her moth-

erly soul, she interests herself in our salvation and is solicitous about the whole human race," teaches Pope Pius IX.[3]

### SHARING: THE ESSENCE OF THE INCARNATION

God's mysteriously marvelous plan for redeeming man reaches love's highest sublimity in sharing our nature and life both in His individuality and in ours, so that He shares with us individually His own divine Nature and Life: "Of His fullness we have all received" (*John* 1:16). This law of mutual sharing and of self-communication holds not only in our redemption, but also in the continuation and perfection of our redemption, that is, in our sanctity. The more we give ourselves to Christ in conformity with His Will, the more He gives Himself to us in a more abundant divine Life with which our souls live, the more we are the beloved child of God, the more is our right of inheritance of God's infinite wealth of happiness, the more we become the glory of God, one with the infinite Beauty and Goodness and Perfection. That this giving of self be as complete as possible in some of His brothers and sisters, Christ has arranged that religious live in a state which professes and seeks the fundamentally complete giving of self, materially, bodily, and especially in will, through the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. The religious state is not a different kind of Christianity, but the living of a higher life of mutual sharing of self and life with Christ, who is Christianity.

"Hail, full of Grace!" means that "the Lord is with thee' in the greatest fullness and most intimate union possible to a creature. Mary, then, must have shared the very highest possible Grace, for she shared with Christ her human life and nature, not only as a member of the same human species, but she also gave Him His individual human nature—she is His mother: "Thou art the glory of Jerusalem [the Church triumphant], thou art the Joy of Israel [as said of Judith, the savior of her race]; Thou art the honor of our people" (*Judith* 15:10).

Mary was like to God, and thus God's glory, not only as the child of predilection of the Father, adopted through the Word's brotherhood; she was like Him as the Mother and sole human

[3] Encyclical Letter *Ineffabilis Deus* (*Col. Lac.* VI, 843).

source of the Humanity of God. In Nazareth and Jerusalem, all could see in the face of Jesus the Child, and of Jesus the young man and adult, a replica of the face of Mary. The people could see in the ways and manners of Jesus the sweet and gentle manners of Mary, from whom He learned them; His psychology is hers; for she is in Him more intimately than in body; she is in Him in His human character, which she formed in her Creator by her motherly instruction and by her daily loving association with Him. She is not only His heredity of body, but also His formative environment of soul.

To be the Mother of our Saviour, to receive the Second Person of the Trinity bodily, to invest Him with a human body from her own being, this was her ineffable relationship to God as the human Mother of Him who is. However, says St. Augustine: "The divine maternity would have profited Mary nothing, if she had not borne Christ [through Grace] still more happily in Spirit than she bore Him in the flesh." In receiving the Word of God into her soul in the fullness of sanctifying Grace, in which we partially share, she had, from the beginning of her existence, conceived and given birth to her divine Son supernaturally; for grace is the beginning of His living in the soul.

De Bérulle lyrically writes of Mary:

> She exists, not in her own light and love, but in the light and love and workings of Jesus, who draws her out of herself and her inner activities, so as to live in Him and to assist at His holy operations, by a sort of impression, gracious and lofty, mighty and lovely, the Mother in the Son, the Virgin in Jesus . . . and the special function of the Virgin is to be attentive to the hidden and spiritual Life of her Son, to be a pure capacity of Jesus, filled with Jesus. . . .
>
> Speaking of you, Mary, we speak of Jesus; in speaking of your disposition, we speak of those in which He has been conceived. . . . You are His; you are through Him and for Him; and as the divine Persons have no other subsistence in the Trinity than in their mutual relations, you also, O holy Virgin, O being divine and human, both at once, divine in grace and human in nature, you subsist in grace only through the relation with Jesus; you lived only by His grace ere He lived in you through nature; you breathe through His Spirit, and your graces and greatness are His.[4]

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[4] *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Migne, 1865), p. 501.

The first moment of her human life was the first moment of her divine Life as the fairest of the daughters of God the Father; for her Son always lived in her soul vivifying it, with the care of an infinite Son, with his own divine Life and His own Sonship. So, He appropriately prepared her in order that He might live in and from her body as her human Son. This fact we call the Immaculate Conception of Mary. When she was conceived in her human life, He was conceived in His divine Life in her soul, so that one day she might be fit to conceive Him in body, and so make it possible for all men to conceive Him in their souls in grace.

Great as is this prerogative with which Christ endowed His Mother, could He have done less? How is it thinkable to non-Catholics rejecting the Immaculate Conception of Mary—how can they find it in their hearts to wish, or in their reason to believe that Christ could dwell nine months and be the Child in a mother who was once His enemy in sin?

The maternity of God is the source and cause of all Mary's greatness; and no one can come to an appreciation of her immense exaltation in dignity and beauty, who does not know and hold the meaning of the Incarnation of the Word. In fact, it is impossible not to conclude that those, who deny belief in the Immaculate Conception, are really denying their belief in the Incarnation of Christ, with which her greatness is connected as the light of the moon is connected with the light of the sun. Hence, the moon has been well chosen as the symbol of Mary, "beautiful as the moon" (*Cant.* 6:9) reflecting "the Sun of Justice." The Protestant absence of Mary Immaculate in their Christianity is shocking; it is second in incongruity only to the Protestant "real absence" of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

## "FULL OF GRACE"

It is precisely in Mary's holiness, in her indwelling Son, the Word, that "He that is mighty hath done great things to her; and Holy is His name." He that is mighty has made her holy as His child. She knows that it is our likness to God as His children through Christ's Life in our soul, which makes us dear to Him; she knows that Jesus, while cherishing an incomparable love for

her, as His mother, would, nevertheless, love another more than her, were that other richer in sanctifying grace.

It is probable that many, on hearing of the "Immaculate" or "Pure" heart of Mary, restrict these names to her perfect and miraculous chastity as the Virgin Mother of God. However, these epithets are negative assertions of her absolute freedom from any sin which must accompany her positive fullness of grace. Positively and properly these terms mean the "Holy" heart of Mary, holy with the fullness of the indwelling of her Son and of the Trinity.

"The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the Power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." We can all listen to these words of the Angel to our Mother as addressed to each of us, her children. The Holy Spirit is called "Holy" because He represents and is the Holiness of the Three Persons as the Workers of holiness in our souls. The Presence of God, the Holy Spirit, overshadowing our souls is the begetting of Christ in us to either a beginning or to an increase of the divine Life in us, just as the overshadowing of the Holy Spirit was the begetting of Christ's human life in Mary and presided continually over its development.

The name that the angels in heaven give God in their worship of Him is "Holy, Holy, Holy!" and the person that has Christ's Life growing in himself in wisdom and age and grace, is in his very substance an ever fuller chant "Holy, Holy, Holy!" to the God who is His holiness. Consequently, God's purpose for us is: "Be ye holy because I am Holy"; and this holiness consists, not in the extraordinary achievement, but in the ordinary life lived with an ever-increasing sensitiveness to the pleasing of God's Will. This was the holiness of the humanly insignificant Mary: her perfect *fiat:* "Be it done unto me according to thy word"; this was the reflection of the Holiness of her Son, who summed up His Holiness in the declaration: "Whatever is pleasing to My Father, that I do. I came, not to do My own Will, but the Will of Him who sent Me." This is the only perfect human glory of the Father, in His humanly perfect daughter, as His perfect divine glory is in His divinely perfect Son. In her, He has "perfected His praise."

Despite the apparent insignificance of her life, St. Augustine says of the Virgin who was prepared by the Father to be the Mother of His Son: "So great was the perfection of the Virgin

that it was reserved to God alone to know it fully."[5] A proper name is a clear, definite designation proper to one person, in order to distinguish him from all others. Rather than "Mary," the angel's name for her: "Full of Grace," is her real proper name distinguishing her from all others. The Immaculate Conception of Mary, like Baptism, is often inadequately expressed as the negative absence of original sin from Mary's soul. The positive significance of Mary Immaculate lies in the fact that, from the first moment of her existence, she possessed the greatest possible fullness of the divine indwelling of grace, and, moreover, that every moment was the fullest possible increase of the possession of the Word in the fullest possible union of her will with His.

God the Father, who said from Heaven about Christ: "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased," says of the Mother whom He has chosen for His Son: "Thou art fair, My beloved, and there is no spot in thee." Amongst her virtues in fulfilling His Will, her chastity is raised into special prominence by God's providential design for her—a virtue which must adorn all those who would be admitted into intimate union with God, who "walks among the lilies." Ermine is the robe of human royalty. That the dearest of His creatures, His Mother, might be regally resplendent in the beauty of this virtue, He works the miracle, so revelation tells us, of the Virgin conception and birth of Christ. For it is His invariable way that those, on whom He would bestow special love and intimacy, must be most delicately pure, or wholly purified, as was Magdalen. This is the unfailing condition of divine Love of the "jealous God"; and Coventry Patmore says well:

> Love, light for me
> Thy ruddiest blazing torch,
> That I, albeit a beggar by the porch
> Of the glad palace of Virginity,
> May gaze therein and sing the pomp I see.

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[5] *Sermo* 52 *de Conc.*

## LOUISVILLE—MONDAY, AUGUST 6, 1855

The world of 1855 was a living paradox. Across the globe new horizons unfolded, extending farther and farther the frontiers of civilization—but at the expense of the Crimean War in the Old World and the Mexican War in the New. The Oxford Movement and the Restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy heralded the dawn of a Second Spring for the Church in England—but in the same country sordid industrial conditions reached their nadir with the exploitation of women and children as factory laborers. The entire world rejoiced as Pius IX solemnly defined the doctrine of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception—but recoiled in horror at the frightful revelations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

What were the prospects, we may well ask, of the youthful Church in the New World a century ago? Looking back from our vantage point, we can see that for the Church in America, too, the middle of the last century was, to paraphrase Dickens, the best of times and the worst of times, for it was the age of Catholic immigration, it was the age of Catholic persecution, it was the epoch of growth, it was the epoch of decline, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair.[1]

### "BEST OF TIMES . . ."

The Church of a century ago was a thing of great promise in these United States. Membership increased at an incredible rate. Although a negligible minority but a few short years before, Catholics now were numbered among the largest religious denominations in the States. Such tremendous growth in numbers was the result of thousands of immigrants who left the Old Sod and their Fatherland, seeking a new life in the New World. In 1845, for example, there were 100,000 immigrants who, for the first time, could call America home; in 1850 the number of arrivals reached 300,000, and in 1854 there were well over a half-million.[2] With

[1] *A Tale of Two Cities* (New York: World Publishing Co., 1946), p. 11.
[2] Billington, Ray Allen, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 239.

the sudden influx of such huge numbers of Irish and German Catholics, the Church in America was coming of age.

Moreover, the Church was stamped with the vigor of youth, for everywhere in the East and West the land was marked with sprawling schools, and cross-tipped spires pointed upward to heaven. The rapid growth of the Church reflected the courageous leadership of a militant hierarchy, whose ranks included such forceful prelates as Hughes, England, Kenrick, Eccleston, Fenwick, Spalding, and a host of others. A testimonial of both the rapid growth and the outstanding leadership is seen in the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, summoned in 1852, and representing no less than six ecclesiastical provinces, 40 dioceses, 1,500 priests, and more than 2,000,000 of the faithful.[3] To assure a capable and well-trained clergy, American Colleges were established at Louvain and at Rome. To staff the schools, hospitals, orphanages, and charitable institutions, innumerable Religious Orders offered their assistance from Europe, while countless others came into being under the direction of local Ordinaries.

## "WORST OF TIMES . . ."

Through the rose-colored glasses of increased membership, vigorous hierarchy, and expanding church-and-school system, the condition of the Church in the United States appeared bright and healthy indeed, and augured a very prosperous future. But if the rose-colored glasses are removed, and in their place are substituted the dark glasses of prejudice and bigotry, an altogether different picture strikes the eye. A wave of antipathy against Catholics and foreigners was sweeping across the nation. The people of the United States were held fast in the grip of a violent anti-Catholic hysteria. "While the fearful hatred of the Catholic Church has been a permanent factor in the history of our nation," writes the Jesuit Father Curran, "anti-Catholicism reached its acme of influence and virulence in the decades immediately preceding the Civil War. 'What the capitalist was to Lenin in 1917, and the

[3] Curran, S.J., Francis X., *Major Trends in American Church History* (New York: America Press, 1946), p. 94.

Jew to Hitler in 1935, the Catholic was to the American democrat in the middle of the 19th century.' "[4]

*Charges and accusations*

Current newspapers, magazines, and books vied with each other in levying horrifying charges and fierce denunciations against all things Catholic. Publishers and editors assured themselves of a large market by providing constant and frightful accusations for the omnivorous reading public. Protestants read on all sides how Catholics were sent over to conquer the New World for the Old by their political activity. The fact that only Popish priests could quiet rioting foreigners was taken as evidence of the marshaling of immigrants under priestly control so that they would be ready to strike when the time came to overthrow the government. The same effect was achieved in other more subtle and insidious ways, too, for, it was charged all the foreign Catholics voted as they were told, and their priests were bartering votes for political control[5] Even the father of their country, loyal Americans were reminded, fearful of the encroachments of Roman power, warned his countrymen to guard against "foreign influence."[6]

A fact well known to every "loyal Protestant American" was the excessive cruelty and immorality of Catholics. Bearing the significant title *Native American,* a Philadelphia newspaper denounced local riots by stating that "another St. Bartholomew's day is begun on the streets of Philadelphia. The bloody hand of the Pope has stretched itself forth to our destruction."[7] Nor was anyone ignorant of the depraved savagery of the Inquisition, which, of course, continued to function in Catholic countries. Authors felt it their bounden duty to inform the Native Americans how the Inquisitor would lead young maidens through the torture chambers, threatening to fry them alive in the dry-pan, to put them on the wheel, or to drop them into the pit of serpents. "When the girls were frightened almost out of themselves at these horrid scenes," writes the author, "they were led to the inquisitor's chamber, and, as they thought, were happy to escape the dry-pan,

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.
[5] Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
[6] *Startling Facts for Native Americans* (New York, 1855), p. 66.
[7] Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

wheel, and snakes, by gratifying his lascivious desires."[8] In lurid detail native Protestant Americans were reminded that "celibacy has ever been the source of impurity and licentiousness, and is so now in our own country."[9] Moreover, by assuring criminals pardon for their dark deeds, indulgences and confession encouraged the spread of crime; it was even known that priests goaded their flocks into evil acts to increase the revenues resulting from the confessional. Above all, the confessional served those lecherous rogues, the priests, as a device for the seduction and ruin of their fair penitents. Since the sins could promptly be forgiven, the confessor's box served as a prelude to the most revolting practices. So shameless were the writings of one man, at least, that he was arrested for vending obscene writings when peddling one of his own books. The book that he was selling bore the significant title *Extracts from the Theological Works of Peter Dens on the Nature of Confession and the Obligation of the Seal.* Loyal Native Protestant Americans protested the injustice of his arrest, asserting that Peter Dens' books were used in Catholic schools, yet were so immoral that a Protestant minister could be arrested merely for selling one openly.[10]

Another popular target for all this anti-Catholic propaganda was the Jesuit. It was proclaimed by no less an authority than Samuel F. B. Morse that

> The Jesuits, after exerting their tyranny for upwards of 200 years, at length became so formidable to the world, threatening the entire subversion of all social order, that even the Pope was compelled to dissolve them. But within 50 years the waning influence of popery and Despotism required their useful labours to resist the spreading light of Democratic liberty. The Jesuits were denounced as a secret society, a sort of Masonic order, not confined to one class in society, not merely priests but merchants and lawyers and editors and men of any profession.[11]

Moreover, it was a well-known fact, according to another, that "the Jesuits in Ireland contrive to filch from the ragged, starving,

[8] *Startling Facts,* pp. 53-54.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 78.
[10] Billington, *op. cit.,* p. 361; also note 73, p. 376.
[11] Guilday, Peter, *The Life and Times of John England,* II (New York: America Press, 1927), 197-98.

wretched papists in that island, at least 13 millions of dollars per year, which they publicly squander in every species of the lowest and most brutalized profligacy."[12] Jesuit intrigue and infiltration into all walks of life in the United States were laid bare by such literary gems as a play which appeared in New York entitled *The Jesuit: a National Melodrama in Three Acts,* while another book which enjoyed great popularity bore the ominous title *The Female Jesuit; or the Spy in the Family.*[13]

In addition to these "religious" factors motivating the anti-Catholic and anti-foreign wave, there was also the political and economic element. Content with a lower standard of living, alien labor took over more and more of the work formerly performed by American hands. Intemperance, illiteracy, pauperism, and crime, it was claimed, all increased with the coming of the foreigner, and created both the unsightly city slums and corrupt political machines. Native Americans could see more truth than humor in the current story of the schoolboy who was called upon to parse "America." "America," he stated, "is a very common noun, singular number, masculine gender, critical case, and governed by the Irish."[14]

*Use of Violence*

Goaded on by such prejudice and propaganda, it is little wonder that mob riots broke out across the country. Such divergent locations as Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Texas witnessed the raiding and burning of churches. A Jesuit priest in Ellsworth, Maine, was tarred and feathered, and then ridden around town on a rail. Even the person of the Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Bedini, was not honored when he visited the United States. Indignities and threats greeted him in East and West alike. In New York there was discovered a conspiracy to assassinate the Archbishop, while in Cincinnati an armed mob of eight hundred citizens marched upon the Cathedral while Bedini was preaching a sermon there, and attempted to burn the prelate in effigy.

[12] *Startling Facts,* p. 86.
[13] Billington, *op. cit.,* p. 349.
[14] *Ibid.,* p. 326.

The mob was dispersed only after it was fired upon by the police and its leaders were arrested.[15]

From the Atlantic to the Mississippi, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, there smoldered in the hearts of Native Protestant Americans a bitter hatred for all things Catholic and foreign. Fanned by political, economic, and religious motives, the smoldering hatred burst into flame in the form of the violent intolerance of unruly mobs. Typical of these savage outbreaks of a century ago is the rioting in Louisville, known to history as Bloody Monday, August 6, 1855.

### LOUISVILLE'S BLOODY MONDAY

1855 was the year of the Kentucky state elections, which provided the occasion for the general outbreaks and disturbances of Bloody Monday in Louisville. Bearing the official and high-sounding title of the American Party, the Know-Nothings were at the height of their influence. The disparate elements of the Party were bound together by their common fanatical opposition and hatred for all things Catholic and foreign. According to Article II of the Party Constitution, among the qualifications for membership the candidate must be "a Protestant, born of Protestant parents, reared under Protestant influence, and not united in marriage with a Roman Catholic."[16] In addition, upon reception into the Party the new member was required to take a solemn oath which read:

> I, of my own free will and accord, in the presence of Almighty God and these witnesses, my right hand resting on the Holy Bible and Cross, and my left hand raised toward Heaven, in token of my sincerity, do solemnly promise and swear that I will not vote, nor give my influence for any office in the gift of people, unless he be an *American Born Citizen,* in favor of Americans born ruling America, nor if he be a Roman Catholic. . . .[17]

### *Press Activity*

Such was the spirit of the Know-Nothings as the state elections drew near in Kentucky in the year 1855. For months before the

[15] For a complete and thorough treatment of Archbishop Bedini's stay in the United States, cf. Peter Guilday, "Gaetano Bedini," *Historical Records and Studies,* XXIII (New York: U. S. Catholic Historical Society, 1933).

[16] McGann, Sr. Agnes Geraldine, *Nativism in Kentucky to 1860* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1944), p. 87.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 88. Italics in original.

elections of August 6, there had been ominous threats made by the members of the organization that were calculated to keep from the polls Catholic citizens of whatever nationality. Aliens and Catholics were the objects of editorial denunciations in the local press for several months prior to the elections. A contemporary informs us that "the party most responsible for the outbreak in Louisville on Bloody Monday, was undoubtedly the late George D. Prentice, editor of the *Louisville Journal* . . . who was governed more by policy than by principle."[18] It was Prentice, we are told, "who instigated thousands of the worst elements of his party to acts of murder and incendiarism that were simply horrible in their atrocity."[19] As editor of the leading organ of the Know-Nothings, Prentice encouraged his readers by writing "if now we overwhelm the anti-American party in Kentucky, our future triumphs throughout Kentucky and the Union are inevitable, whilst, on the other hand, if we are prostrated, we may never be able to rise in our strength again."[20] Growing more and more unrestrained, the series of editorials was climaxed on election day by sounding the alarm for all readers, charging them to "rally to put down an organization of Jesuit Bishops, Priests, and other Papists, who aim by secret oaths and horrid perjuries, and midnight plottings, to sap the foundation of all our political edifices. . . . The Romish corporation, under the pretense of being the Bride of Christ, has ever been the prostitute of Satan."[21]

Editorials of this type had the effect of raising the emotions of the rabid mob to fever pitch, and led to the Know-Nothing victory amid the riots of Bloody Monday. The final count in Jefferson County, which includes the City of Louisville, showed that the American Party more than doubled the votes of the opposing Democrats.[22]

*Voting Conditions*

In an election day Extra Edition, the anti-Know-Nothing *Louisville Courier* proclaimed, "As was anticipated, the Know-

[18] Webb, Ben. J., *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville: Charles A. Rogers, 1884), p. 484.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 484-85.

[20] *Louisville Journal,* Aug. 4, 1855.

[21] *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1855.

[22] Cited by McGann, *op. cit.*, p. 101, from the *Tribune Almanac* (New York, 1856), p. 60.

Nothing bullies took possession of the polls early this morning, and have kept them up to this hour. They have brutally knocked down and maltreated hundreds of voters. Those opposed to them are beaten and driven from the polls. Mob law is triumphant, and Louisville is dishonored and disgraced."[23] On the day following the election, the *Courier* again charged:

> Those in charge of the polls were supplied with requisite refreshments. They discharged the important trusts committed to them in such a manner as to commend them forever to the admiration of the outlaws. They provided ways and means for their own party to vote. They buffeted and bullied all who could not show the sign. . . . Never, perhaps was a greater farce, or as we should term it, tragedy, enacted. Hundreds and thousands were deterred from voting by direct acts of intimidation, others through fear of consequences, and a multitude from the lack of proper facilities. The city was indeed during the day in possession of an armed mob, the base passions of which were infuriated to the highest pitch by the incendiary appeals of the newspaper organs and the popular leaders of the Know-Nothing Party.[24]

The success of such tactics on the part of the Know-Nothings is attested by the fact that in the three predominantly foreign wards, of the 2,220 eligible voters, only 391 cast their ballots.[25]

*Mob Violence*

"It would be impossible to know when or how this riot commenced," stated the *Courier*.[26] In an attempt to reconstruct the events of the day, we must rely almost exclusively upon the highly partisan accounts in the local press.[27] Throughout a great part of the day and night the city was in possession of bands of infuriated Nativists. The mob began its activity by raiding Armbruster's brewery on Jefferson Street, and then putting it to the torch on the pretext that a shot had been fired from one of the windows at a mob in pursuit of a German. There followed also a sacking of

[23] *Louisville Courier,* Aug. 6, 1855.
[24] *Ibid.,* Aug. 7, 1855.
[25] McGann, Sr. Agnes Geraldine, *op. cit.,* p. 101.
[26] *Louisville Courier,* Aug. 7, 1855.
[27] The following account of the Bloody Monday riot is based largely on the events related in the daily press at the time and/or recorded in Sr. Agnes Geraldine McGann's *Nativism in Kentucky,* pp. 92-99.

German residences in the vicinity. A reporter's account reflects the serious nature of the disturbances:

> Here it was that while the preliminaries of battle were being arranged the Americans received a volley of shot, and then the engagement followed. In this fight Officer William was peppered with small shot; Joe Salvage received ten shots; Frank Stout was shot slightly in the arm and side; William Richardson received a charge of small shot indiscriminately over his body; Vard. Morris was slightly injured, and William Atchison received several bad wounds.[28]

Now fully roused, the mob began its march of terror through the city streets. An attempt was made to disband the crowd by assuring them that they had won the election, and urging them to return to their homes. Instead, they proceeded to the courthouse and took possession of a cannon and some muskets and bayonets. With the seized cannon fully manned for action they made their way up Main Street.

Grave was the danger of an attack upon the recently constructed Cathedral of the Assumption on Fifth Street near Walnut. Fearing its destruction, Bishop Spalding called upon Mayor Barbee and handed him the keys of the Cathedral as he told him that he would be held responsible for any damages to church property in the city. The Mayor saved the Cathedral by issuing a notice stating "We, the undersigned, have in person carefully examined the Cathedral, and do assure the community that there are neither men nor arms concealed there ; and further that the keys of said Cathedral, on Fifth Street, are in the hands of the city authorities."[29] Not only did the Cathedral survive this threat of danger, but remains standing at the same location today in all her regal dignity.

Elsewhere a row of buildings on Main Street, between Tenth and Eleventh, owned by Francis Quinn and occupied chiefly by Irish tenants, was surrounded by an excited, well-armed mob and set on fire. The owner of the property was shot and left to be consumed by the flames. A Mrs. Long saw her two sons hanged to the banister of her home, and the house burned down over them. The *Courier* reported that "twelve buildings were destroyed.

[28] *Louisville Courier,* Aug. 8, 1855.
[29] *Louisville Journal,* Aug. 8, 1855.

These houses were chiefly tenanted by Irish, and upon any of the tenants venturing out to escape the flames, they were immediately shot down. No idea could be formed of the number killed. We are advised that five men were roasted to death."[30] The same paper further reports that in the midst of the rioting "an Irishman who discharged a pistol at the back of a man's head was shot and then hung." "He, however," we are told cryptically, "survived both punishments."[31]

"The mob having satisfied its appetite for blood," the *Courier* continues, "began to disperse. We are sickened with the very thought of the men murdered, and houses burned and pillaged, that signalized the American victory yesterday. Not less than twenty corpses form the trophies of this wonderful achievement."[32]

*Responsibility for Rioting*

On the following day unofficial investigations were begun in order to determine the responsibility for the outrages. As might be expected, each paper discovered authentic evidence that the blame lay with the party of the opposition. The Know-Nothing *Journal* of George D. Prentice stated that "the riots were occasioned by indiscriminate and murderous assaults committed by foreigners, chiefly Irish, upon inoffensive citizens, peaceably attending to their own business." Furthermore, he charged, "all the circumstances connected with these assaults, strongly indicate that they were premeditated and instigated by other parties than those by whom they were actually committed." It is darkly suggested that these murderous assaults "were instigated by the direct instructions of men with fiendish hearts, who control in great measure the passions, and are able to dictate actions to the Germans and Irish who made the attacks."[33] In reply to this blanket charge, presumably directed against the priests of the city, Bishop Spalding answered through the secular press. In restrained yet positive language, he denied that he or any of the Catholic clergy had been

[30] *Louisville Courier,* Aug. 7, 1855.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Louisville Journal,* Aug. 7, 1855.

instrumental, directly or indirectly, in bringing about the recent lamentable outrages. With an earnest appeal he concluded:

> I beg to say that I entreat them, in the name of Jesus Christ, the God of peace, to abstain from all violence; to remain quietly at home or attending to their business; to keep away from all excited assemblies, and, if they think they have been injured, to return good for evil, and to pray for those who have wronged them. . . . I entreat all to pause and reflect, to commit no violence, to believe no idle rumors, and to cultivate that peace and love which are the characteristics of the religion of Christ. We are to remain on earth but a few years; let us not add to the necessary ills of life those more awful ones of civil feuds and bloody strife.[34]

The prudence of the Bishop's reply may be judged from the following contemporary comment:

> For the reason, possibly, that I was filled with indignation at the time, and was therefore incapable of appreciating the prudence that dictated it, I remember well that this card was peculiarly distasteful to me, as it was to others. There was not an honest and sane man in the city that gave the least credence to either the charge or the insinuation that had been made by the editor. Then, for days together, one might walk streets without meeting a single Irish or German citizen. Hundreds of these, having previously seen and felt the insane power of the mob, as soon as they could possibly arrange their affairs, moved away from the city altogether.[35]

Taking its cue from the *Louisville Journal,* the *Indianapolis Republican* in reporting the riots proclaimed that "the servile tools of a foreign Jesuitism were every where exposed and defeated."[36] The *Paducah Weekly American* stated editorially, "While we are no apologists for mobs, and loathe and despise them from the bottom of our heart, we can but think that the foreign population of Louisville brought this about by their own acts alone."[37] One after another the Know-Nothing papers blamed the foreign-born Catholics for having instigated the violence, asking "whether a victori-

[34] *Ibid.,* Aug. 8, 1855.
[35] Webb, Ben. J., *op. cit.,* p. 485.
[36] *Indianapolis Republican,* Aug. 9, 1855.
[37] *Paducah Weekly American,* Aug. 15, 1855, cited in Sr. Agnes Geraldine McGann, *Nativism in Kentucky,* p. 106.

ous party that at noon was over 1,300 votes ahead, was likely to get up a riot."[38]

The Know-Nothing opposition, on the other hand, stated that the Common Council of Louisville, in failing to appoint additional polls and in appointing American party election officials, shared the responsibility for the outrages with the *Louisville Journal*, whose incendiary articles set off the conflagration. For these two reasons, it was charged, polls were seized and foreigners were subjected to harsh and violent treatment at the voting places.[39] Each laid the blame to the other for the plunder, arson, and murder of Bloody Monday in Louisville, August 6, 1855.

The attack on freedom of opinion and of elections made on Bloody Monday had more than local significance. The press across the nation reprinted the details of the day and speculated on the causes with results similar to those reached in Louisville; that is, for or against the Know-Nothing Party as their political or religious predilections dictated. One of the sanest criticisms came from Philadelphia, whose citizens remembered the riots and church burnings of 1844:

> It is impossible now to state which party was the aggressor—though we fear both were too ready for a broil. One thing, however, is evident, that the City Government is to blame for want of foresight or efficiency. If they had power to increase the number of voting places—they ought to have done it. Knowing the state of public feeling, and warned by the recent riot at Cincinnati, a large force of special police should have been preserved at all hazards—against all parties. It seems evident, however, that the City Government either winked at the riot, or else was deplorably inefficient.[40]

The Canadian view of responsibility for the riots as ascertained by the *Montreal Commercial Advertiser* is likewise worthy of note:

> In the Louisville riots the weight of testimony throws the aggression upon the Native American; the intention was to prevent the foreign population from voting at all. . . . The weakness of democratic governments has always been found in their liability to degenerate into

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[38] *Louisville Journal*, Aug. 9, 1855.

[39] McGann, Sr. Agnes Geraldine, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[40] *The Saturday Evening Post*, Aug. 8, 1855, cited in Sr. Agnes Geraldine McGann, *Nativism in Kentucky*, p. 106.

anarchy, the suddenness with which the popular commotions arise, their virulence and the paralysis of the Executive.[41]

In later years Abraham Lincoln was said to have favored these outbreaks of violence against Catholics. His actual feelings are contained in a letter he wrote to a friend on August 24, 1855, in which he stated:

I am not a Know-Nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except Negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, "all men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty —to Russia for instance, where despotism can be taken pure and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.[42]

* * * * *

These, then, were the proverbial "best of times and worst of times" for the Church in America a century ago, especially as typified by the events in Louisville. The strong faith of the immigrant, the militant hierarchy, and the firmly-founded church-and-school system provided a strong, bed-rock foundation for the future growth and development. With courage and determination the Church successfully endured the early years of trial and tribulation; with foresight and understanding through succeeding generations she has built well on her firm foundation. When the night was blackest, the dawn was nearest. When the flames of bitterness had died down, conscientious Protestants were abashed at what had taken place, and were happy to see Know-Nothingism die out as other more pressing issues came to the fore. We are told that the Bishops exercised great prudence during those days of stress, and, with the help of their priests, restrained the faithful from precipitate actions. As had been foreseen by the Bishops, it

[41] *Montreal Commercial Advertiser,* Aug. 15, 1855, cited in Sr. Agnes Geraldine McGann, *Nativism in Kentucky,* p. 103.

[42] Cited in Roemer, O.F.M.Cap., Theodore, *The Catholic Church in the United States* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1950), p. 243.

was mob violence which eventually proved the undoing of Know-Nothingism. "Know-Nothingism had nothing permanent to offer. Its principles were inimical to those on which the American nation had been founded; its demands were of a sort that could never be realized in a country constituted as was the United States. Thus the party's success contributed to its failure."[43] Inherited ignorance and prejudice had caused bigotry to flourish for a time, but the Church in the United States was still flourishing when bigotry had died down.[44]

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[43] Billington, *op. cit.*, p. 417.
[44] Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

# CHRISTIANITY AND ECONOMICS

## Part II

The sources for the Christian teaching regarding the use of wealth are the Sacred Scriptures and the constant tradition of the Church. Both sources of Revelation, while recognizing the right to private ownership, inculcate first of all that the extent to which the goods of this world may be acquired is limited. While condemning the unjust practices by which wealth is frequently obtained, both insist that the use of property legitimately acquired is not absolute, but that the possession is one of stewardship. Finally, since in the Christian ideal of life, the human solidarity, which is at the basis of all social rights, is not merely one of similarity of human nature, but a supernatural one of Divine Sonship and fraternity, not only are the obligations of justice to be observed, but those of charity as well.

Numerous passages in the Old Testament testify to the fact that the right of private ownership was fully recognized among the Hebrews. Among their number were some who attained great wealth, Abraham, from whom the nation of Jews derives its origin, was a man of no little riches. "He was very rich in the possession of gold and silver" (*Gen.* 23:2). The right was recognized as a natural one which even kings might not violate. It was illicit for a sovereign to seize the property of his subject for his own personal use, even though he was willing to indemnify the owner, as is apparent from the example of Naboth (*III Kings,* 21). Naboth refused to sell his vineyard to the king, even though he was to receive a fair price. At the instance of Jezabel, Naboth was falsely accused of blasphemy and stoned to death in retaliation. God condemned the actions of Achab and Jezabel through his prophet Elias and their memory was accursed in Israel. The king himself was not immune from the obligation of respecting private property. Such crimes of greed might have been expected in pagan Rome, but in Israel where not the will of the king but the law of God was supreme they had no place.

To further secure man in the possession of his goods, his right of disposal was restricted. He could not sell his immovable property. In place of absolute alienation there existed a kind of

lease, by which the property could be given over to another for a period of time, that could not be extended beyond the year of Jubilee. "And thou shalt sanctify the fiftieth year and shalt proclaim a remission to all the inhabitants of the land for it is the year of Jubilee. Every man shall return to his possessions and everyone shall go back to his former family" (*Lev.* 25:3 ff.). From these words it is evident that no one among the Jews could be entirely dispossessed. At least the owner had the secure realization that one day he or his children would come again into the possession of his property.

While the Old Testament clearly defends the institution of private property, it shows no less clearly that the absolute ownership of the pagans was foreign to the Jewish people. The *Jus utendi et abutendi* in its moral and economic sense had no place in the philosophy of Israel. Property remained always subject to the social service demanded by the national solidarity and fraternity of the Jews. Among the Jews the rights of society were conceived as flowing from their unity of race, as is clear from various laws regarding the disposition of wealth. This restriction of the basis for the social obligations of wealth leads to difficulties regarding the origin of certain rights and duties. It is not always easy to distinguish what is of natural law and therefore still binding and what is of positive precept and perhaps abrogated.

Lending money at interest was forbidden to the Hebrew but not to the foreigner. In such a way the social value of capital property just the same as that of real estate is manifest.

The Jewish life differed from that of the pagan in their concept of labor. Knowing that in the sweat of their brow it was ordained that they should earn their bread, the children of Israel were devoted to productive labor. They did not consider it beneath human dignity. They were punctual in paying their tribute and taxes to the state. There are numerous passages in the Old Testament imposing the obligation of cordial and solicitous assistance for the poor, and threatening the Divine wrath upon those who transgressed this precept (*III Kings* 8:31).

The most important social effect upon the wealth of an individual was a limitation placed by the Sacred Scriptures upon the amount of property he might acquire. While nowhere are definite limits assigned beyond which one might not ethically

extend his ownership, the existence of such limits is understood. "Woe to you," says Isaias, "that join house to house and lay field to field, even to the end of the place. Shall you alone dwell in the midst of the earth?" (5:8). The conclusion derived from this passage is inescapable. The amassing of great fortunes which necessarily inflict injury upon others is illicit. This prohibition contained in the words of the prophet is confirmed by reason. Regard for one's fellowman forbids the extension of one's domain to the point where the rights of others are excluded. When wealth consisted for the most part in land this conclusion was more readily accepted. When the change to the money economy and the profit system took place, men lost sight of this obligation. But the mere change from a natural to a money economy in no sense changes the fundamental principle that by natural law the amount that can come to an individual must be limited.

The principles by which the children of Israel were governed were so far superior to those that ruled the pagans in their use of wealth, that Our Divine Saviour, generally speaking, did nothing more than apply and extend to all men the code of law that ruled the relations of the Jewish people among themselves.

There can be no doubt that Christ recognized the right of private property; nor did He condemn wealth itself, but only the spirit of riches and greed. He condemns the selfish refusal to share superfluous wealth with those who are in need, and warns against the moral dangers of attachment to wealth. He insists upon the spirit of poverty and recommends the practice of voluntary poverty to those who wish to be perfect (*Matt.* 5:3), but nowhere does He say that wealth of itself is an obstacle to salvation (*Matt.* 19:22). The parable of the rich man and Lazarus is not, as the Socialists maintain, a condemnation of wealth, but of its misuse and its selfish enjoyment with no consideration for the needs of others. Those who make riches the end and aim of life, disregarding God and their neighbor, need expect no reward of future life (*Luke* 6:24). Finally, the obligations of fraternal charity that constitute the essence of social ethics are nowhere better illustrated and the importance of fulfilling the social obligations of wealth are nowhere more strongly inculcated than in the words of Jesus describing the general judgment.

Then shall the king say to them that shall be on the right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for

you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me to eat. I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in: naked and you covered me: sick and you visited me: I was in prison and you came to me. Then shall the Just answer him saying: Lord when did we see thee hungry and fed thee: thirsty and gave thee to drink: And when did we see thee a stranger and took thee in: or naked and covered thee: Or when did we see thee sick or in prison and come to thee: And the king answering shall say to them: Amen I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me. Then he shall say to them also that shall be on his left hand. Depart from me you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry and you gave me not to eat: I was thirsty and you gave me not to drink. I was a stranger and you took me not in: naked and you covered me not: sick and in prison and you did not visit me. Then they shall also answer him saying: Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty or a stranger, or naked or sick or in prison and did not minister to thee? Then shall He answer them saying: Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me. And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the just into life everlasting (*Matt.* 25: 31-46).

These words clearly show that the basis of these social obligations of wealth is the virtue of charity, the foundation of the human solidarity that is love of one's neighbor on account of God. They clearly show that the norm governing the obligations is the need of one's neighbor. They show clearly the severity of these obligations, since their violation is punished eternally.

Nowhere in the Gospels are riches condemned as an evil in themselves. The wealth of Zachaeus, Simeon, and Lazarus did not prevent Our Lord from partaking of their hospitality. Among his disciples there were others who had acquired a certain degree of wealth. He warned against the misuse of wealth and against the unjust practices of the rich, and confirmed these warnings by His own modest life and His affection for the poor and humble, but He did not condemn the possession of worldly things.

The same principle of fraternity and human solidarity which is fundamental in the doctrine of Jesus is found also in the teachings of the Apostles. This principle has its economic application as is evident from the words of Saint John:

For this is the declaration that you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another. . . . We know that we have passed

from death to life because we love the brethren. He that loveth not abideth in death. He that hath the substance of this world and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him how doth the charity of God abide in him? My little children let us love not in words nor in tongue but in deed and in truth (*I John* 3:11-18).

The words of Peter to Ananias and Saphira who by fraud kept part of the price of the land are sufficient to show that the right to private property was recognized. "Whilst it [the land they sold] remained did it not remain to thee, and after it was sold did it not remain in thy power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thy heart? Thou hast not lied to men but to God" (*Acts* 5:4-5).

St. James threatens the divine wrath not only upon those who defraud the laborer of his hire, whose cry he says, "hath entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth (*James* 5:4), but also upon those who do not aid the poor: "Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be for a testimony against you and shall eat your flesh like fire. You have stored up to yourselves wrath against the last days" (*James* 5:2-3). Earlier in the same Epistle he says: "Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation; and to keep one's self unspotted from this world" (*James* 1:27). St. Paul, in exhorting the Corinthians to contribute to the poor, praises especially the charity of the churches in Macedonia, who "according to their power and beyond their power . . . are willing" (*II Cor.* 8:3-5).

Many other texts, especially from the Gospels and from the Epistles of St. Paul, might be quoted to show the Christian teaching regarding private property. These are sufficient to show the essential elements of that teaching: namely that private property is admitted, but not in the absolute sense. It is limited by the demands of fraternity and human solidarity, which demand that not only must the obligations of justice be fulfilled, but those of charity as well.

(*To be continued*)

JAMES W. O'BRIEN

## THE CHURCH IN ADEQUATE PERSPECTIVE

It seems quite clear that the great progress made during these past few years in the field of ecclesiology has been achieved in great measure by increasingly careful attempts to describe the Church militant of the New Testament in terms of its own background and perspective. The Catholic Church, like every other reality God has brought into being, belongs to an ordered universe. By God's own institution, the religious society over which the Bishop of Rome presides as the Vicar of Jesus Christ is a part of the divine supernatural economy. And, like everything else that belongs to an ordered arrangement, the Catholic Church must be visualized with reference to the realities to which it is related if it is to be understood at all adequately.

The great and essential work of describing the Church in terms of its proper perspective was accomplished twelve years ago, in the encyclical letter *Mystici Corporis.* This document, certainly one of the most important doctrinal pronouncements issued during the reign of Pius XII, brought out once and for all the paramount fact that the reality designed in the New Testament as the "Body of Christ" and in Catholic theological literature since the thirteenth century as the "Mystical Body of Christ" is actually the Catholic Church.[1] Furthermore, with matchless clarity, it described the essential relation of this society to Our Lord. It showed how Our Lord is the Founder, the Head, the Support, and the Saviour of the company of His disciples. It pointed out the visible and the invisible bonds by which the faithful are attached to Him within this visible *ecclesia.* And it explained how the Blessed Trinity, in

[1] The *Mystici Corporis* asserts that: "If we would define and describe the true Church of Jesus Christ—which is the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Roman Church—we shall find no expression more noble, more sublime, or more divine, than the phrase which calls it 'the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ.'" The *Humani generis* rebukes those who "consider themselves not bound by the doctrine set forth a few years ago in Our encyclical letter and based upon the sources of revelation, [the doctrine] which teaches that the Mystical Body of Christ and the Roman Catholic Church are one and the same thing" (*DB,* 3019). For an explanation of the relation between the expression "Mystical Body" and the other definitions of the Catholic Church, cf. Fenton, "The *Mystici Corporis* and the Definitions of the Church," in *The American Ecclesiastical Review,* CXXVIII, 6 (June, 1953), 448-59.

an activity that is appropriated to God the Holy Ghost, acts as the indwelling Principle of life and unity, the Soul, of the Mystical Body.

The issuance of the *Mystici Corporis* was providential. Prior to its appearance there were several books and articles, well advertised and remarkably confident in tone, which set forth the most arrant nonsense about an "invisible Church" which was supposed to be the genuine Mystical Body of Christ and which was depicted as in some manner distinct from the visible Catholic Church. By indicating the true relationship of the visible Catholic Church to Our Lord, the encyclical *Mystici Corporis* put an end to blunders of that kind.[2] It showed that, by reason of its union with the Incarnate Word, the Catholic Church is the true Mystical Body of Jesus Christ.

A book recently translated into English and published in this country, *The Church: A Divine Mystery,* by Fr. Roger Hasseveldt, the director of the major seminary in Lille, has emphasized another set of relations inherent to the constitution of the Church militant of the New Testament.[3] Father Hasseveldt has stressed the fact that this institution is the flowering and the completion of earlier stages of the Church militant, and that it is, in itself, essentially a preparation for the absolutely final status of the *ecclesia,* that of the Church triumphant.

Obviously this lesson is one which no Catholic can afford to ignore. It is definitely a part of the Church's doctrine that there has been, since the time of our first parents, a Church militant, a *congregatio fidelium in Christo* in this world. This supernatural kingdom of God on earth has always been the community of persons professing their acceptance of the divine public revelation centering around Christ Our Saviour. In Old Testament times this community underwent many changes of form. But always in Old Testament times it was the gathering of people who professed

[2] It put an end to any legitimate excuse for teaching of this sort when it set forth the authoritative doctrine that there is no such thing as an "invisible church." Unfortunately, however, some books containing teaching to the effect that there is an "invisible church" have been published (or re-published) under Catholic auspices since the appearance of the *Mystici Corporis.*

[3] Cf. Hasseveldt, *The Church: A Divine Mystery,* translated by William Storey (Chicago: Fides Publishers, 1955), pp. 57-151.

to believe what God had revealed about the coming Redeemer. In the New Testament period, since the time of Our Lord's crucifixion, it has been the visible Catholic Church, still the *congregatio fidelium in Christo*. But whereas in Old Testament times the content of divine public revelation had centered about the figure of Christ who was to come, in New Testament times it has been concerned with teachings about Our Lord who has come into the world and has offered up the redemptive sacrifice of Calvary.

The older theologians of the Catholic Church brought out this portion of God's teaching about His supernatural kingdom on earth chiefly in their writings about the twofold origin of the Church militant.[4] Unfortunately there is a tendency in most modern textbooks to limit the teaching about the origin of the Church to an account of the establishment of the Church militant of the New Testament by Our Lord. Hence there is a danger that this extremely rich portion of Catholic doctrine about the Church militant may become somewhat obscured. Father Hasseveldt has done good service to the cause of Catholic theology by stressing this point in his book.

It is of course tremendously important that Catholics realize the continuity of the Church with the supernatural kingdom of God, the *congregatio fidelium in Christo*, of the Old Testament. The Catholic Church alone is the true Israel of God in the world today. It is the continuation and the perfection, here on earth, of the ancient *plebs Dei*. It is truly and exclusively the community of God's chosen people. The various stages through which the *ecclesia* of the Old Testament passed were all preparatory to the perfection of the Church militant of the New Testament, within which Our Lord promised to remain even to the consummation of the world. The rites and sacrifices of the old dispensation, with all of their splendor, were actually foreshadowings of the great Sacrifice of the New Law, in which Christ Himself is both Priest and Victim.

Moreover Father Hasseveldt has stressed the fact that the status of the Church militant of the New Testament is likewise one of preparation. God's supernatural kingdom is living in pilgrimage

[4] Cf. Fenton, "The Twofold Origin of the Church Militant," in *AER*, CXI, 4 (Oct., 1944), 281-304.

in the various cities throughout the world. Its only fatherland is in the courts of heaven. There those who have passed from this life in the state of grace and "within" the Church militant will, in the glory of the Beatific Vision, enjoy the eternal possession of that truth which, in the Church militant, they have possessed only in the obscurity of the faith.

Hence, just as there were conditions attached to the *ecclesia* in its various stages throughout the old dispensation which no longer pertain to it in the fullness of the New Testament, there are conditions inherent in the Church militant now which will not be found in the Church triumphant. The faith, which in the Church militant is one of the elements composing the inward or spiritual bond of union with Our Lord, will be displaced by the Beatific Vision, the clear and immediate understanding of the supernatural reality which we know in this life only by the assent of divine faith. Hope, which is the love or the desire of God as our own Good, will be replaced by the actual possession of the Triune God in the Beatific Vision. Charity, the third element in the inward bond of union with Our Lord, will remain as it is, but perfected by the light and the beauty of the Beatific Vision.

The sacraments, as signs of divine grace, will no longer need to be employed. In the Church militant there are men whom God has made responsible for the instruction and the direction of the rest of the faithful. In order that they may carry out their responsibilities, God has endowed them with teaching authority and with the true power of jurisdiction. In the Church triumphant such responsibility and power will be no more. These words of the Apocalypse apply to the Church triumphant:

> And the city hath no need of the sun, nor of the moon, to shine in it. For the glory of God hath enlightened it: and the Lamb is the lamp thereof.
>
> And the nations shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and honor into it.
>
> And the gates thereof shall not be shut by day: for there shall be no night there.
>
> And they shall bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it.

There shall not enter into it anything defiled or that worketh abomination or maketh a lie: but they that are written in the book of life of the Lamb.[5]

This passage from the Apocalypse brings out the ultimate difference between the status of the *ecclesia* in pilgrimage and its condition *in patria*. The Church militant of the New Testament is an organized and thus visible society. As such neither charity nor even the faith itself is requisite for membership in it. What is essential for membership is the possession of those factors which together constitute the outward or bodily bond of union with Our Lord.[6] Thus it is possible for men who are actually in the state of mortal sin and even for occult heretics and infidels to retain their membership in the Church militant of the New Testament.

In the Church triumphant, however, there will be no one living in a condition of aversion from God. As a matter of fact a lesson very frequently and forcefully driven home by Our Lord in the course of His parables of the kingdom is precisely the fact that the Church will be completely purified before it enters into its ultimate and eternal triumph in Christ. All that is sinful and unworthy will be cast out, and the Church living forever in Heaven will be composed exclusively of those who live the life of sanctifying grace.

All of this is a part of Catholic doctrine. It is a body of truth which our people should know and should meditate upon. Anything that claims to be an adequate presentation of the theology of the Church should bring out these truths accurately.

There is, however, still another dimension which must be taken into consideration in an account that claims to give anything like a complete perspective of the *ecclesia*. By reason of original sin, all of the descendants of Adam begin their existence in a state of aversion from God. Our Divine Saviour and His Blessed Mother are the two exceptions to this rule. He was essentially immune to sin because He is a divine Person. Moreover, His sacred hu-

[5] *Apoc.* 21:23-27.

[6] According to the *Mystici Corporis:* "Only those who have received the laver of regeneration, who profess the true faith, and who have not miserably separated themselves from the fabric of the Body or have been expelled by the legitimate authority for very serious crimes are actually to be listed as members of the Church" (*DB*, 2286).

manity did not incur the debt of original sin since, by reason of His virginal conception, He was not descended from Adam by way of carnal generation. She was preserved free from original sin through the unique privilege of her Immaculate Conception. Everyone else in the human family has begun and will begin life burdened with the weight of original sin, and thus deprived of God's friendship.

Satan, the leader of the fallen angels, has a certain priority in the line of sin. All of those who are turned away from God, either by reason of their own acts or because of original sin, the sin of nature, thus fall to some extent under his domination. And, since the descendants of Adam as a social unit come into existence in a state of sin, Satan has and exercises a certain dominating influence over this social unit as a whole. He is, as Our Lord called him more than once, "the prince of this world."[7] The unregenerate family of Adam constitutes what the *magisterium* of the Catholic Church has called "the kingdom of Satan."[8]

Now it is definitely Catholic doctrine that the process of salvation has a social aspect. Essentially, salvation is the work by which a man is transferred from the condition of sin or aversion from God, in which he is liable to everlasting death and failure and brought into the supernatural life of sanctifying grace. Ultimately the process of salvation is completed when the person thus saved comes to possess this life of grace in its final and eternal flowering, in the eternal glory of the Beatific Vision.

Although salvation comes to individual persons, it is by no means a merely individual process. It necessarily involves, not only taking a man out of the state of sin, but also removing him from the dominion of Satan. When any man is saved, he is transferred from this kingdom of Satan into another social unit, the kingdom of God's love. And, by God's own institution, the kingdom of His love in this world is the Catholic Church, the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ. The "world," the dominion of "the prince of this world," is the *terminus a quo* of this social aspect of the process of salvation. The Catholic Church, the Church mili-

[7] Cf. *John* 12:31; 14:30; 16:11.

[8] The expression was used in this way by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Humanum genus*, issued on April 20, 1884. The translation of this passage is to be found in Father Wynne's edition of *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII* (New York: Benziger, 1903), p. 83.

tant of the New Testament, is the *terminus ad quem.* It is the social unit into which men are received whenever they are moved by the power of divine grace out of the dominion of "the prince of this world."

This truth is brought out with matchless clarity in the account, in the Acts of the Apostles, of the consequences that resulted from St. Peter's missionary sermon on the first Christian Pentecost.

> Now when they had heard these things, they had compunction in their heart and said to Peter and to the rest of the apostles: What shall we do, men and brethren?
>
> But Peter said to them: Do penance: and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins. And you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.
>
> For the promise is to you and to your children and to all that are far off, whomsoever the Lord our God shall call.
>
> And with many other words did he testify and exhort them, saying: Save yourselves from this perverse generation.
>
> They therefore that received his word were baptized: and there were added in that day about three thousand souls.
>
> And they were persevering in the doctrine of the apostles and in the communication of the breaking of bread and in prayers.[9]

What is expressed and what is very clearly implied in this passage is fundamental divine teaching about the Church militant of the New Testament. St. Peter, the head of the apostolic college and the Vicar of Christ on earth, here in the first missionary sermon delivered for the Catholic Church, bade his hearers who were outside of that Church to save themselves from the social unit within which they were then contained. He spoke of this social unit as "this perverse generation."

When he told them to "save" themselves, he meant exactly what he said. His words would have had no intelligent meaning whatsoever had they not implied that the people to whom he was speaking were then and there in a ruinous position, in a status which would inevitably involve them in death if they were to continue in it. Had they been in a situation which could accurately be described as less perfect than that of the company of Our Lord's disciples, but still as in some way acceptable, St. Peter would have been guilty of serious misstatement when he bade them save them-

[9] *Acts* 2: 40-42.

selves from it. A person, properly speaking, is not saved from a situation which is merely less than perfect, but which is still acceptable.

Furthermore, St. Peter insisted that the individuals to whom his sermon was addressed should "save" themselves "from this perverse generation (Σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης)." Now it must be remembered that he was speaking on that first Christian Pentecost to a group described by the Acts of the Apostles as "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven."[10] Moreover, the Acts list the places from which these men had come to the great Jewish feast of Pentecost, then being celebrated in Jerusalem. The men who listened to St. Peter were

> Parthians and Medes and Elamites and inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia.
>
> Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome.
>
> Jews also and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians. . . .[11]

In other words, many of the people to whom St. Peter spoke on the first Christian Pentecost were pilgrims who had come to Jerusalem to honor God in the celebration of the great feast day of their nation. Many of them must have started on their journey before Our Lord was crucified. Such men had set out on their pilgrimage as members of the society which was then the supernatural kingdom of God, the *ecclesia,* on earth.

It was while they were still on their way to Jerusalem that the old Jewish religious commonwealth ceased to be God's supernatural kingdom on earth. This community had been the *congregatio fidelium* during the last period of the old dispensation. It had been the association of those who had professed their acceptance of divine public revelation which, in Old Testament times, centered around the teaching about the Redeemer promised by God. By its official and corporate rejection of Our Lord, the old Jewish religious community lost its position as the *congregatio fidelium,* since the repudiation of the Redeemer Himself constituted a rejection of the divine message about Him.

When the old Jewish religious congregation lost its position as the company of God's chosen people, or as His supernatural king-

[10] *Acts* 2:5.
[11] *Acts* 2:9-11.

dom on earth, the little society of disciples which Our Lord had gathered and organized around Himself during the days of His public life kept the faith, and began to exist as the *ecclesia* of the New Testament, possessing the dignity of God's supernatural kingdom in a much more complete and perfect way than the older society had ever enjoyed it. The Eucharistic sacrifice, the central and essential religious act of this *ecclesia* of the New Testament was the reality which the sacrifices of the Old Law had prefigured and for which they had prepared the way.

Thus, while St. Peter was speaking to them and urging them to save themselves from "this perverse generation," his hearers were members of a religious community which, up until a few weeks before, had enjoyed the dignity of the kingdom or the *ecclesia* of God on earth. These people were not ignorant of the one living and true God. They were definitely not people devoid of any religion. They were a group that could certainly be designated as "men of good will." Yet, because they were not within the *ecclesia*, the supernatural kingdom of God of the new dispensation, St. Peter informed them that they were living in a perverse generation, and he urged them to save themselves from it.

The process of saving themselves from the perverse generation or the dominion of Satan, the prince of this world, actually involved entrance into the true *ecclesia*. The teaching of the Acts of the Apostles is most obvious on this point. It tells us that the people who received His word, or, to put it in another way, those who actually saved themselves from the kingdom of Satan were baptized. They were added to the group already incorporated into the society of the disciples by Our Lord Himself during the course of His public life. They were henceforth within the true kingdom of God of the new dispensation on the same title as those who had been with this society from the beginning.

St. Peter's words make it clear that the process of salvation by which these people were transferred from the dominion of Satan into God's *ecclesia* involved activity on their part. They were urged to save themselves, and about three thousand of them followed the Apostle's injunction by turning against their sins and by accepting Christian baptism. St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, on the other hand, brings out the fact that this transfer is attributable

to God Himself. It was St. Paul's prayer that his people might be found:

Giving thanks to God the Father, who hath made us worthy to be partakers of the lot of the saints in light:

Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love.[12]

The action which St. Paul attributes to God is precisely that of which St. Peter spoke on the first Christian Pentecost. Those within the *ecclesia* are transferred from the power or the dominion of darkness and brought into the kingdom of Christ. Both Apostles speak in such a way as to imply most clearly that there is no escape from the perverse generation or the power of darkness except into the true Church, the supernatural kingdom of God.

The teaching set forth by both St. Peter and St. Paul can only be explained as meaning that all men are contained within one or the other of these two social units. Indeed, St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, insists that all of those now within the Church "were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest." The context of this statement brings out with special clarity the fact that God, in saving those within the Church, took them out of one social unit and placed them in another.

And you, when you were dead in your offences and sins,

Wherein in time past you walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of this air, of the spirit that now worketh on the children of unbelief:

In which also we all conversed in time past, in the desires of our flesh, fulfilling the will of the flesh and of our thoughts, and were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest:

But God (who is rich in mercy) for his exceeding charity wherewith he loved us

Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together in Christ (by whose grace you are saved)

And hath raised us up together and hath made us sit together in the heavenly places, through Christ Jesus.[13]

St. Paul, in this passage, brings out the fact that God has elevated the people who are not within the *ecclesia* from a situation

[12] *Col.* 1:12 f.
[13] *Eph.* 2:1-6.

in which they were in some way under the influence or the domination of "the prince of the power of this air." This same spirit, the one whom Our Lord Himself designated as "the prince of this world," is spoken of here in the Epistle to the Ephesians as "the spirit that now worketh on the children of unbelief." The people who are called the children of unbelief are those outside of what the theologians were to define as the *congregatio fidelium in Christo,* the true and only Church or supernatural kingdom of Jesus Christ.

This passage from the Epistles to the Ephesians shows that the salvation which comes from Our Lord's grace has, as its social aspect, the removal of men from the situation in which this evil spirit works upon them, and has some sort of influence over them, to the condition in which they are together in Christ, in His Mystical Body.

The notion brought out by St. Peter in his sermon on the first Christian Pentecost and by St. Paul in his Epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians is also set forth in a highly important document of the ecclesiastical *magisterium,* Pope Leo XIII's encyclical letter, *Humanum genus.* What Pope Leo taught in this document is merely the truth contained in the passages of Scripture to which reference has been made, and in the constant tradition of the Fathers and the theologians.

> The race of man, after its miserable fall from God, the Creator and the Giver of heavenly gifts, "through the envy of the devil," separated into two diverse parts, of which the one steadfastly contends for truth and virtue, the other for those things that are contrary to virtue and to truth. The one is the Kingdom of God on earth, the true Church of Jesus Christ; and those who desire from their heart to be united with it so as to gain salvation must of necessity serve God and His only-begotten Son with their whole mind and with an entire will. The other is the kingdom of Satan, in whose possession and control are all whosoever follow the fatal example of their leader and of our first parents, those who refuse to obey the divine and eternal law, and who have many aims of their own in contempt of God, and many aims also against God.
>
> This twofold kingdom St. Augustine keenly discerned and described after the manner of two cities, contrary in their laws because striving for contrary objects; and with subtle brevity he expressed the efficient cause of each in these words: "Two loves formed two cities: the

love of self, reaching even to contempt of God, an earthly city; and the love of God, reaching even to contempt of self, a heavenly one." At every period of time each has been in conflict with the other, with a variety and multiplicity of weapons and of warfare, although not always with equal ardor and assault.[14]

In this passage Pope Leo XIII clearly insists upon the fact that all the people in the world are in one of these two kingdoms. Obviously then, leaving one of these social units means entering the other, and the joining of one necessarily involves relinquishing the other. Thus, against this background it is not difficult to see that there is no liberation from the domination and the kingdom of Satan other than by way of entrance into the genuine and supernatural kingdom of God, which is the true Church of Jesus Christ Our Lord, the Catholic Church.

The process of salvation involves not only a turning away from sin and a turning toward God, but also the relinquishing of the kingdom of Satan and entrance into the kingdom of God. Thus, in the light of the teaching brought out by Pope Leo XIII in his *Humanum genus,* it is obvious that no man can be designated as saved unless he is within the Church.

The traditional teaching of Catholic theology, now set forth authoritatively by the Holy Office in its letter *Suprema haec sacra,* makes it clear that it is possible to be saved while being in the Church other than as a member.[15] The fact that the *ecclesia* of the New Testament is an organized society, a visible society with members visibly contained within it, is due to God's merciful dispensation and not to the inherent nature of the process of salvation itself. Hence it is possible for a man to be "within" the Church in such a way as to find eternal salvation in it when he is not a member of this society, but merely one who intends or wills to become a member. And again, under certain circumstances, when the man in question is invincibly ignorant of the identity of the true Church, it is possible for him to be "within" it in such a way as to achieve salvation when he has merely an implicit, as distinct from an explicit, desire to become a member.

[14] *The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII,* pp. 83 f.

[15] Cf. the Latin text of the *Suprema haec sacra* in *AER,* CXXVII, 4 (Oct., 1952), 307-11, and Fenton, "The Holy Office Letter on the Necessity of the Catholic Church," in *AER,* CXXVII, 6 (Dec., 1952), 450-61.

In any event, no desire or intention to become a member of the Church can be effective in the direction of eternal salvation unless it is enlightened by genuine divine faith and animated by perfect charity.

The *Humanum genus,* however, assures us that entrance into the Church is by no means an assurance of eternal life. It insists that those who sincerely wish to be united to the Church so as to gain salvation must necessarily serve God and serve Our Lord with all the forces at their command. Thus it implies that it is possible to be joined with the Church in a way that will not lead to salvation. This, of course, is the basic lesson brought out in those parables of the kingdom which tell of the final purification of the Church on the last day. A man who is a member of the Church but who leads a sinful life is actually conducting himself according to the standards of the kingdom of Satan. He places himself in such a position that, continuing to sin and refusing to turn back to God, he will ultimately be removed from God's kingdom and will find his everlasting place in the kingdom of God's spiritual enemy.

Most striking in this passage from the *Humanum genus* is Pope Leo's insistence on the continual antagonism between these two kingdoms. In the last analysis, of course, this mirrors the fundamental hatred of the devil for Our Lord, the antagonism of which Our Lord spoke, when referring to "the prince of this world," He said that "in me he hath not anything."[16]

Our Lord was speaking of the world as the kingdom or the dominion of "the prince of this world" when He warned His disciples of the opposition they would have to expect from it.

> If the world hate you, know that it hath hated me before you.
>
> If you had been of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.[17]

The older scholastic theologians presented very clearly the truth Pope Leo XIII taught in the *Humanum genus.* Thus, using two

[16] Cf. *John* 14:30.
[17] *John* 15:18 f.

phrases employed in the Vulgate translation of the Psalms as examples, the great ecclesiologist Moneta of Cremona wrote:

> According to the testimony of the Scriptures, there are two *ecclesiae* found in this world. One is the *ecclesia sanctorum,* of which we read in the first verse of Psalm 149: "Sing ye to the Lord a new canticle, let his praise be in the church of the saints." The other is the *ecclesia malignantium,* with reference to which we read that the Holy Ghost has said, through David, in the fifth verse of Psalm 25: "I have hated the assembly (*ecclesia*) of the malignant."[18]

Another great ecclesiologist who brought out this same truth is James of Viterbo. He has this to say about the two kingdoms in his work, *De regimine christiano.*

> The kingdom of the world, which is called earthly, is opposed to the kingdom of God, because it has chosen earthly goods for itself as its own purpose. This is also called the kingdom of the devil, because the devil rules over it, for, as it is said in the book of Job: "He is king over all the children of pride," because he rules over them through malice as Christ rules over the just through grace. . . . But these two kingdoms, as far as men are concerned, are mingled together in this life, because the good are mingled together with the evil and the evil with the good. Both in like manner use temporal things and both together are afflicted equally with misfortunes until they shall be separated by the last judgment when each will receive his final end, as Augustine says in the fifteenth book of the *De civitate Dei.*[19]

For James of Viterbo, of course, the kingdom of God is the Church. He has this to say about the interrelations of the two kingdoms.

> These two kingdoms originated from and were typified by Abel and Cain, and also the two sons of Abraham. There always have been men belonging to both kingdoms since the very beginning of the human race. Moreover the entire human race is contained within these two

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[18] Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses,* Lib. V, cap. 1, p. 389.

[19] James of Viterbo, *De regimine christiano,* pars I, cap. 1. The text is in Arquillière, *Le plus ancien traité de l'église: Jacques de Viterbo, De regimine christiano, Etude des sources et édition critique* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1926), pp. 97 f.

kingdoms, in such a way that each person must belong to one or the other of them.[20]

The Cardinal John de Turrecremata, in many ways the greatest of all the ecclesiologists in the history of Catholic theology, brings out the same lesson. Turrecremata, however, writing in his *Summa de ecclesia,* speaks of the Church as the *civitas Dei,* as it is divided against and opposed by the *civitas diaboli.* As a matter of fact many of the classical ecclesiologists explained this dimension of the Church when they interpreted the term *"civitas Dei"* as used to designate the Church in the Scriptures and in the writings of the Fathers.

Turrecremata writes that: "in this world there are two cities, joined together in body but divided from one another in spirit (*coniunctae corpore sed divisae mente*). The one is called Jerusalem, the other, Babylon. One is the city of God, the other [the city] of the devil."[21]

In the text of the *Summa de ecclesia,* this passage forms a part of a commentary on or an explanation of a statement taken from the standard mediaeval *glossa ordinaria.* St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, had spoken of the Christians as "no more strangers and foreigners," but as "fellow citizens with the saints and the domestics of God."[22] The *glossa* taught that St. Paul was speaking of the faithful in this passage "as transferred from Babylon to Jerusalem (*quasi de Babylonia translati ad Hierusalem*)." Turrecremata, in his turn, identified Babylonia as the *civitas diaboli* and Jerusalem as the *civitas Dei.*

Thus the *Summa de ecclesia* teaches very clearly that none of the faithful originated within the kingdom of God, but that all of them had been transferred into this *ecclesia* and taken out of the kingdom of Satan, the prince of this world. It sees mankind divided between these two kingdoms, and recognizes the fact that a man is rescued from the power of Satan when, and only when, he is brought into the Church of God.

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The teaching about this relation of the Church to the world, the dominion of the prince of this world, is an integral part of the

[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 98 f.

[21] Cardinal John de Turrecremata, *Summa de ecclesia* (Venice, 1561), Lib. I, cap. 33, p. 38v.

[22] *Eph.* 2:19.

Catholic doctrine about the Church. It belongs just as truly to the theological *tractatus de ecclesia* as do the teachings about the Church's relations to God and to the sacred humanity of Our Lord, and about the relation of the Church militant of the New Testament to the *ecclesia* of the old dispensation and to the Church triumphant. It is part of the doctrine that the Church has always taught, and will always continue to teach, about its own nature and background.

Yet, at the same time, the doctrine so brilliantly summed up by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Humanum genus* tends to be ignored or even misinterpreted in some contemporary treatises on the Church. Incidentally, Father Hasseveldt's book gives nothing like an adequate treatment of this section of ecclesiology, and this failure to take cognizance of it detracts seriously from the worth of the volume. Any book that sets out to give an over-all picture of what God has revealed about His Church should take adequate cognizance of the truth that this Church is one of the two social units into which the human race is divided. It is the *regnum Dei,* divided from and opposed by the *regnum diaboli.* It is the *ecclesia Christi,* into which men must enter, at least by desire, if they are to be saved from the evil influence and power of God's spiritual enemy.

Any book that claims to describe the Church, and that omits this portion of the truth about it, is at best lamentably inadequate. Any book that sets forth teaching opposed to or incompatible with this truth is erroneous and harmful.

It is particularly important that the ecclesiologists of our time should stress this portion of the Catholic doctrine about the Church. In these days the spirit of the world, opposed always to the teaching of Christ as a whole, has focused its opposition on this particular section of the truth about the Church. The world works to make people imagine that all religious bodies and all religious "faiths" are productive of substantially the same effects. It has no particular objection to a Catholic's holding that his religious society is the best and the holiest of all the religious organizations in the world. But it does object, and it does tend to label as "offensive," the forthright and accurate statement of the fact that the Catholic Church is actually the supernatural kingdom of the living God, the necessary *terminus ad quem* of the social aspect of the

process of salvation. Despite the fact that such teaching is utterly unfashionable, or rather, precisely because of that fact, it is imperative that our people be brought to see the Church in its adequate doctrinal perspective.

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## FIFTY YEARS AGO

The leading article in *The American Ecclesiastical Review* for October, 1905, is a lengthy discussion of "Church Extension Plans," by Fr. Francis C. Kelley. The zealous writer explains the constitution and the activities of the society he plans for the extension of the faith throughout our land (and which, in the course of years, has become so efficient and successful a feature of the Catholic Church in the United States). It is interesting to note that Father Kelley derived many of his ideas from similar organizations in Protestant groups. He concludes his article with the inspiring statement: "The movement is necessary to our future well-being and our power for the spread of God's Truth; our brethren suffer; and above all, we have the Eternal Promise, which shall not, nay, which can not fail." . . . Fr. J. Ferreres discusses the administration of the sacraments to adults who have apparently died, and concludes that the sacramental rites may be given even several hours after all signs of life have ceased. It would seem that latent life can continue longer when death has been sudden than when it followed a lingering illness. . . . Fr. E. Devine, S.J., continues his novel, which is now entitled "The Training of Silas," though previously it was called "The Training of a Wealthy Parishioner." . . . Fr. Charles Cronin, of the English College, Rome, objects to Bishop Bellord's theory of sacrifice and of the nature of the Mass. Several other priests voice their disagreement in letters to the *Review*. . . . Bishop Jules Chatron, writing on "Experiences of a Missionary Bishop in Japan," states that the greatest obstacle to missionary efforts in that country is "the surrounding indifference and naturalism which, in an unreligious country like Japan, holds one as in an iron vise." . . . Fr. T. O'Reilly, O.P., writes in defense of Father Lagrange's ideas on the inerrancy of Sacred Scripture. . . . In the Studies and Conferences there is a quotation from a discourse of Archbishop Farley, of New York, on the progress of Catholic education in that archdiocese.

F. J. C.

# Answers to Questions

## GIFTS ON THE OCCASION OF AN INVALID MARRIAGE

*Question:* Should we tell our people that it is wrong for them to give a wedding present to a couple who are entering a union that is invalid according to the teaching of the Church, particularly the attempted marriage of a Catholic girl to a divorced man before a non-Catholic clergyman or a civil official?

*Answer:* Catholics should be told that ordinarily, at least, they should refrain from presenting gifts to couples entering a union that is invalid according to Catholic principles, particularly if one of the participants is a lapsed Catholic. A wedding gift is an expression of joy and congratulation to the two who are entering the holy state of matrimony. But how can a Catholic consistently manifest joy and congratulation to a couple who are entering a union that is not a true marriage but only a sinful concubinage? Such a gift has the appearance of approval of the deplorable state which these two are accepting, a sad parody of the conjugal union. Even when the gift is to be given by a group, such as the office companions of one of the parties, with the understanding that each of the workers contributes a small sum, Catholics should be advised to withhold any contribution, although in this case the co-operation might be justified if otherwise an individual would have to suffer some grave inconvenience. In very exceptional circumstances only would a Catholic have a sufficient reason to give an individual present to a couple entering an invalid union—for example, a secretary whose employer is attempting a marriage of this kind, and who realizes that she would be discharged if she did not present a gift. In a case of this kind, if one of the couple is a Catholic, the gift could appropriately be an article of a religious nature, such as a crucifix or a devotional book, which might offer an occasion of repentance to the unfaithful member of the Church.

## THE SINFULNESS OF ABORTION

*Question:* Is it correct to say that the crime of abortion is primarily a sin against the proper use of the sex faculties and only secondarily a crime of murder? If it were ever proved that the rational soul is not infused into the fetus until several weeks after conception, what species of sin (if any) would be committed by one who procured the abortion of a fetus before that time?

*Answer:* In the sin of abortion, as in many other sins, there is more than one species of malice. There is an abuse of the sex faculties, as well as the direct destruction of the fetal life. But since the latter crime is the much more heinous, abortion is commonly considered by theologians as primarily a sin of murder. The Church follows the same view by classifying abortion as a delict *contra vitam* (Can. 2350, § 1). Even though there is a probable opinion that the rational soul is infused only several weeks after conception, the abortion of a living fetus, however immature, involves the guilt of murder; because this is one of the cases in which probabilism may not be followed (cf. Noldin-Schmitt-Heinzel, *Summa theologiae moralis* [Innsbruck, 1952], I, n. 236). If it were ever conclusively proved that in the early stages of fetal life the rational soul is not yet present, abortion would still be a grave sin, but in that case the predominant malice would be the frustration of the process of procreation, analogous to the malice of contraception.

## HOLY COMMUNION AFTER THE EVENING MASS

*Question:* If a person, through unavoidable delay, comes to church after the evening Mass is ended and wishes then to receive Holy Communion, may the priest satisfy his desire?

*Answer:* In the recent concessions of the Holy See regarding the eucharistic fast it is stated that Holy Communion may be given *immediately* after an evening Mass to those who fulfil the conditions of the fast (three hours from solids, one hour from liquids, no alcoholic beverages since midnight except light alcoholic drinks at meals). Consequently, if a person arrived in church a very brief

time—perhaps four or five minutes—after the Mass was ended, he could be given Holy Communion. But, if a longer period has passed, he could not receive the Blessed Sacrament, since in that event it could not be said that Holy Communion was given *immediately* after Mass.

## JURISDICTION FOR THE CONFESSIONS OF NUNS

*Question:* If a priest is the regular confessor of the nuns residing in a particular convent may he take the place of the regular confessor of another convent (of the same Congregation of nuns) when this latter priest is unable to go there for the weekly confessions?

*Answer:* The special jurisdiction which a priest receives as regular (ordinary) confessor of the nuns dwelling in a particular convent is limited to this group. It does not extend to the religious women of any other convent, even though both convents belong to the same Congregation. Consequently, in the case described by the questioner the priest requested to supply for the other would be obliged either to request faculties from the local Ordinary or to function as a *confessarius occasionalis* (Can. 522). This means that if one of the nuns, wishing to make her regular weekly confession, asks him to come to the convent to hear her, he can validly and lawfully do so, provided the sacrament is administered in a place destined for women's confessions (for example, in the chapel confessional). Then, any of the other nuns who wish to go to confession may approach him and receive sacramental absolution.

FRANCIS J. CONNELL, C.SS.R.

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## CONGREGATIONAL RUBRICS

*Question:* In a *Missa cantata* when the priest finishes the prayers at the foot of the altar and ascends should the congregation stand at once or should they remain kneeling until the priest sings the *Dominus vobiscum* just before the collect? Immediately

following the second elevation should the congregation stand at once or should they remain kneeling?

*Answer:* The general rule is that the laity should follow the order for choir members. The direction for choir members is to stand as the celebrant ascends the altar steps. All should stand after the elevation and remain standing until the celebrant has consumed the Precious Blood.

We find that it is difficult to get the laity to follow these instructions because for years they have been doing things according to local custom. Let us remember that it is no more difficult to do things correctly than it is to do them incorrectly.

## SACERDOTAL JUBILEE MASS

*Question:* I noticed that in announcements of Masses of Thanksgiving celebrated by some silver sacerdotal jubilarians mention is made of an arch-priest as an officer of these Masses. I cannot find any authority for such a practice. Is this permitted by some recent decree?

*Answer:* Canon 812 of the Code reads that "it is not lawful for any celebrating priest, except Bishops and other prelates who have the use of pontificals, to have an assistant priest merely for the sake of honour or solemnity." We know of no recent decree permitting an assistant priest or arch-priest on the occasion of a silver or golden jubilee of a priest. In the case of a first Mass of a newly ordained priest this custom is still permitted not because of the solemnity of the occasion but because an assistant priest is necessary to guide and help the excited newly ordained priest.

## BLESSING OF PRIEST IN ENGLISH

*Question:* Many times I am asked to give a blessing while visiting the hospital and home for the aged in our parish. I have given

the blessing in English but have wondered if this is in order or not. Kindly advise me.

*Answer:* Father Danagher, C.M., answered this question recently and I agree wholeheartedly with him in his opinion. There seems to be nothing in law forbidding a priest to give his blessing in English, at times other than a liturgical ceremony where stipulated prayers in Latin are required. Father Danagher goes on to say that "the only possible objection to the use of English, if we may use this term, is the reason offered by some, who express fear that if the priest's blessing not be given in Latin, the language of the Church, it may lose its efficacy as a sacramental of the Church, although it certainly remains a blessing at the consecrated hands of a priest. Not all would agree with this argument, and there is more room for disagreement now, with the introduction of the vernacular ritual in this country. Whatever opinion one may hold with regard to this point, we do not believe that it should deter a priest from giving his blessing in English, in the circumstances proposed, if he prefers to do so."

## ALTAR STONE SEPULCHRUM

*Question:* Our altar stone, I have discovered, has the sepulchrum located not in the middle where the celebrant kisses the altar but in the middle of the section toward the epistle side. I feel this is incorrect and should be remedied. For a new consecration of the altar stone what relics are required?

*Answer:* You are correct in arranging to have the altar stone set into the altar in such a position that when the celebrant kisses the altar he kisses the relics. If the altar stone cannot be reinserted in the proper position then a new altar stone should be made. In the event that a new consecration must take place there must be placed in the reliquary or sepulchrum the relics of one martyr (S.R.C., Feb. 16, 1906) and three grains of incense.

## MIXED MARRIAGE AT ALTAR

*Question:* Is it permitted to have the marriage of a Catholic and a non-Catholic take place at the altar or must it take place at the rail?

*Answer:* It is difficult for us to give a positive answer to this question. The answer will depend on local diocesan regulations. Some Bishops permit the wedding of a Catholic and a non-Catholic at the altar, others allow such a ceremony to take place at the communion railing. And in some dioceses mixed marriages are not permitted in church under any circumstances. So to our inquirer we say consult the diocesan regulations.

## SACRISTY SIGNS

*Question:* Is there any authority permitting or forbidding the custom observed in some sacristies of having a sign over the vesting case asking the Fathers who celebrate Mass in this church to remember the benefactors of the church? I saw in one church a sign reading thus: "All priests who celebrate Mass in this church are requested in the Lord to remember at the memento the sinners of the whole world who are now in their last agony and are to die this day."

*Answer:* We have not been able to find anything in any of the manuals forbidding or approving the practice described by our inquirer. No such card is even mentioned in the various books and so actually we see no difficulty. We might suggest that the sign read "are asked" rather than "are requested." In fact we heartily endorse the custom of soliciting this memento, which can be done with so little effort and which might easily be overlooked.

WALTER J. SCHMITZ, S.S.

# Book Reviews

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THÉOLOGIE DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT. Tome I: *Dieu.* By P. van Imschoot. Bibliothèque de Théologie, Série III, Vol. 2. Paris: Desclée, 1954. Pp. xiv + 273.

SOCIOLOGY OF THE BIBLICAL JUBILEE. By Robert North, S.J. Analecta Biblica, n. 4. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1954. Pp. 246. $6.50.

The first of these volumes appears as one of a new series of the "Bibliothèque de Théologie," published under the direction of L. Cerfaux, A. Gelin and H. Cazelles, who are the editors of the third or scriptural section of the entire series. The first two series are devoted to dogmatic and moral theology, while a fourth will be concerned with a history of theology. The object of the series is to present modern and complete treatments of the various fields of scientific theology. As few volumes have as yet appeared, it is impossible to give an appraisal of the series, but from what has been published it is not difficult to see that the volumes will be of high quality, and will provide an excellent library of theology not only for the seminarian and teacher, but also for the priest. The series will be more extended and of a somewhat different theological inspiration from that published under the title of "Initiation Théologique," and written by French Dominicans, under the editorship of Fr. A. M. Henry, O. P.

This present volume seeks to give a synthesis of the treatment of God, that is of the dogmatic tract, *de Deo Uno,* in the Old Testament. In many ways the volume is not too different from that published under the title of *Theologia biblica,* by the former Rector of the "Angelicum," Fr. F. Ceuppens, O.P. The main topics considered are the following: God Himself, His existence and nature, God and the world, including the questions of creation and providence, Revelation, its nature, meaning and "modes," and, finally, God in His special relation to the people of Israel. Each topic is followed in its development through the entire New Testament, allowing the reader to have a complete synthetic view of the progressive revelation of, say, the creation, from Genesis to II Macchabees. The writing is scholarly but not pedantic or heavy, the style is clear and, above all, the author has a

fine grasp of the whole, being able to present the full teaching of the Old Testament in a way which will be extremely helpful.

The appearance of this volume leads one to wonder if it would not be possible to use such a book as this one in the regular seminary scripture courses, or, perhaps, to have this volume used as a text for the dogmatic course. A great deal is to be gained by giving the theological student a real grasp of the doctrine of scripture. In the present situation, scripture courses are not overly concerned with doctrine, with the result that the student is not really familiar with the whole revelation and doctrine of the Bible in any organized way. On the other side, the dogma courses, organized by theses, cut up the scriptural doctrine, to make only a limited number of references to specific and isolated texts in support of the thesis. Thus, in neither course does the young theologian have the opportunity of studying the revelation of God in scripture in itself, and in a synthetic, intelligible manner. The use of such a book as the present would, it seems, be of great assistance here, for the student could be presented with a summary and synthesis of scriptural teaching. He would then be able to see the teaching of the Magisterium, the doctrines of the Fathers, and the theological elaborations of the scholastics in their mutual relations and full harmony. Thus, for example, the course on *De Deo Uno*, could well start with this volume, or certain large sections of it, and develop from there the New Testament revelation, the teaching of the Magisterium, and end with the examination of St. Thomas. The tract would no longer have to be presented in such a way that each thesis is presented piece-meal, with the student gaining no real knowledge of the doctrine on God in the Bible, in the Magisterium or in the Fathers. All he receives is a collection of statements, out of context, and often even apparently irrelevant, which do not convey the doctrine in its fulness. It is a pleasure then, to welcome such a volume as the present one, by P. van Imschoot, for it well and capably meets a real need.

Father North, of the Biblical Institute in Rome, presents the results of much careful and painstaking exegesis in his volume on the *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee*. The volume is actually a synthesis of Old Testament sociology, contained, for the most part, in the Jubilee regulations of the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, concerned chiefly with slavery and property. The author pays particular attention to the matter of private property, and how this is to be maintained and fostered in Israelitic society. There is much of importance to be found on the family, the State, and social worship.

While the volume will appeal principally to Biblical scholars and students, it would be well to recommend it to teachers of sociology

in Catholic schools. The teaching of the Old Testament with regard to many social problems of great practical importance today must certainly not be disregarded. The volume would make excellent supplementary reading for a study of the Papal encyclicals on property and the rights of labor and capital. The work is so arranged that the reader can pass over the strictly exegetical and linguistic problems discussed so expertly by the author.

DOM GREGORY STEVENS, O.S.B.

WHY I BECAME A BROTHER. Edited by George L. Kane. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1954. Pp. xvi + 173. $2.50 cloth; $1.00 paper.

This long overdue book is, perhaps, the very first of its kind. Vocational literature concerning the various Catholic Brotherhoods is most commonly written in a "recruiting" style calculated to encourage interest in one particular order or congregation. The reader never learns of the scope and significance of the varied aspects of this specialized form of the religious life. However, in the present volume, which incidentally is a companion piece to two earlier works: *Why I Became a Priest* and *Why I Entered the Convent,* Father Kane has made a splendid effort to draw aside the curtain which has long hidden this veiled and unknown life from popular view. In a series of nineteen essays, written by members of eighteen different orders (two essays are contributed by members of the Society of Mary, Marianists), a cineramic view of these lay religious is brought into clear focus. The reader is led through the steps followed by Divine Providence in directing certain souls into fields such as nursing, education, manual labor, and accounting, which constitute part of the mission of the great religious congregations.

Although the Preface by Father Kane and the Introduction by the late Fr. Daniel Lord, S.J., make repeated mention of the distinction between a religious vocation to the priesthood and a religious vocation to the brotherhood, this reviewer must note that many of the essays might leave the uninitiated reader with that perennial question still in his mind: "But why didn't you go all the way and become a priest? You have talent, ability, and the necessary intellectual and spiritual qualifications. Why become a Brother?" This question seems to be raised most insistently by the essays written by members of teaching congregations. Perhaps this difficulty could be cleared up by a sequel to *Why I Became a Brother.* A second volume could describe the ac-

tual daily life of the Brother in greater detail. Then, perhaps, the uniqueness of his calling would be made more apparent. In practically every essay, a too abrupt stop is made at the front door of the particular order described. A behind-the-scenes view of what the apostolic and contemplative aspects of a Brother's life are, as distinguished from those of the priesthood, is now needed.

In spite of its shortcomings, however, *Why I Became a Brother* is a significant contribution to a more intelligent understanding of a way of life rather generally misunderstood. It is the task of a pioneer. Father Kane's work is to be recommended to all men, young and old, who are contemplating the religious vocation and to all who are seeking some clue as to "Why I Became a Brother."

BROTHER BARTHOLOMEW ALBERT, F.S.C.

THE SPIRITUALITY OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA. By Hugo Rahner, S.J. Translated by Francis J. Smith, S.J. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1953. Pp. xvii + 142. $2.75.

POINTS FOR THE MEDITATIONS AND CONTEMPLATIONS OF ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA. By Franz von Hummelauer, S.J. Translated by V. J. Hommel, S.J. Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1955. Pp. xv + 443. $4.50.

The wealth of literature on Jesuit spirituality has recently been enriched by two books which taken together present us with a penetrating insight into that approach to Christian perfection envisaged by St. Ignatius. Both books deal primarily with the *Spiritual Exercises:* the first is concerned with the historical origin and growth of the Ignatian ideal which culminates in the *Exercises;* the second is a mature commentary on this classic work. Together the books are mutually complementary and well worth careful reading.

*The Spirituality of St. Ignatius* by Father Rahner is a small book well translated, and one which sticks to its aim of showing the "history of the underlying forces of that ideal which St. Ignatius wished to exemplify in his own life and to bequeath to his Order" (p. x). The work, therefore, is historical, equipped with a sound scientific apparatus as can be seen in numerous references the author cites, as well as by the helpful bibliography attached to the end of the book. It is a scholarly work that uses historical facts to prove its point. However it goes beyond the mere surface value of the sources to

"those depths which lie beyond the pale of pure history" (p. xi). The result is a revealing and intensely interesting picture of St. Ignatius and his work.

Divided into three chapters, the book deals with three aspects of the growth of that ideal of St. Ignatius which resulted in the *Spiritual Exercises.* The author first considers the background of Ignatius, then the effect Christian tradition had on him, and finally his mystical transformation at Manresa and his place among other great men of the Church.

Chapter one gives us an excellent though brief biography of the Saint, and shows how his noble upbringing and military education created a sub-structure for his future ideal of nobleman and soldier for Christ. Thus the meditation of the Two Standards in the *Exercises* was the natural outcome of one who wished to serve under the standard of the eternal King.

In the next chapter, the author explains how the natural piety of Ignatius and his religious zeal made fertile soil for the ideas contained in the three books that influenced him: *The Life of Christ, The Golden Legend* (lives of the Saints), and *The Imitation of Christ.* In these works we find presented the "first approaches toward the substance of the ideal of the Spiritual Exercises: the Kingdom of Christ and the noble following of that king in chivalrous service" (p. 26).

The final chapter stresses the point that neither the courtly and military background of Ignatius nor his contact with Christian tradition are sufficient to explain his being the author of the *Exercises.* A spiritual illumination was necessary and thus in the solitude of Manresa "Ignatius, the pilgrim and the penitent, was made over into the man of the Church" (p. 55). There he became "a new man with a new intellect" (p. 49). In this chapter the author also shows the place St. Ignatius has among other great men of the Church—Ignatius of Antioch, Basil, Benedict and Augustine, and explains how in many ways they were actually his spiritual ancestors.

Franz von Hummelauer's *Points for the Meditation and Contemplation of St. Ignatius of Loyola* makes an ideal companion volume for the above. Calling on his years of experience in the Society the author has written a useful commentary to the *Spiritual Exercises* and, by presenting many helpful suggestions, he enables the reader to make his own personal applications. The use of Puhl's fine translation of the *Exercises* is indeed a welcome feature, and the translation of the book itself is well done.

Dom Patrick Granfield, O.S.B.

THE DAY LINCOLN WAS SHOT. By Jim Bishop. New York: Harper Bros., 1955. Pp. viii + 308. $3.50.

This fascinating volume by the editor of the *Catholic Digest,* although not the first attempt to chart the events of Lincoln's last day as the jacket blurb claims, is perhaps the most thorough and dramatic narration of that fateful Good Friday's happenings.

To one who has read this story in the Sandburg volumes, or in the fine single-volume work of Benjamin Thomas which utilized freshly available Lincoln sources, this book comes as a welcome addition, particularly because of the sense of immediacy Mr. Bishop has brought to these events.

The author has scrupulously arranged the details of that April day hour by hour; and if one is inclined to be somewhat dubious of the possibility of such hour-by-hour plotting of the events of that day, ons is obliged to concede that the author has neglected no source in striving for complete accuracy.

How vividly we can see one of American history's most tragic figures, the unfortunate Mary Surratt, attending Good Friday devotions in St. Patrick's Church, unaware that the events of that fateful day would cost her her life. Mary Surratt seems to have been an estimable Catholic woman of Southern sympathies, who was, to use De Witt's phrase, judicially murdered, directly by the decision of a military tribunal which obviously lacked jurisdiction in the case, and, indirectly, by the incredible silence of Secretary Stanton who deliberately suppressed the information contained in Booth's captured diary that would have exonerated her.

It is interesting to priests to note that both Louis Wiechmann, a witness in the Surratt case, and John H. Surratt were at one time students at old St. Charles College in Ellicott City, Maryland. By the time John Surratt was apprehended (after escaping to Canada and serving for a time with the Papal Zouaves) reason had replaced hysteria, and the government nol-prossed the indictment against him.

Mr. Bishop has brought out some little-known facts in the course of his narrative—such as the fact that everyone in the President's box on that Good Friday night came to a tragic end. The debt-ridden Mrs. Lincoln was emotionally disturbed until the end of her days, and Major Rathbone, who later married Miss Clara Harris, killed the unfortunate girl in a fit of insanity and spent his last days in an asylum.

The general details of the events leading to Lincoln's assassination are well known, but Mr. Bishop has done a superb job in making those events buried in the last century throb with life.

ROBERT PAUL MOHAN, S.S.

ABBÉ PIERRE AND THE RAGPICKERS OF EMMAUS. By Boris Simon. Translated from the French by Lucie Noel. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1955. Pp. vi + 250. $3.75.

Housing shortage is not something new in France. It existed long before 1939. Various causes, of which war is not the least (one building out of every twenty-two was destroyed during World War II), have aggravated this situation in terrific proportions. Facing this problem of which the material and moral consequences are immense, the book of Boris Simon tells us of the work of a French priest, Abbé Pierre (his real name is Henri Grouès) with a heart on fire with Christ's charity. This is before all the great lesson of the book, a charity genuinely and integrally Christian. Abbé Pierre does not start by collecting funds, nor gathering technical experts, nor even by building homes; he starts by loving simply and profoundly with his heart of man and priest those whom Providence sends him. "Love them first, help them next." The rest is only the means or expression of this love.

Theoretically we know all that. We have read St. Paul: "If I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor . . . and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." And yet are we not too easily satisfied with giving the have-nots material help? To supply the homeless with a roof, to procure food and clothes for them, is excellent. But do we realize that if we do not do something more we give the poor a means to live, but not a reason to live? Do we see the danger of making them "victims of charity"? Do we stop to think that they may feel frustrated by reason of doing nothing—not even enough to pay for their meals?

This danger of an insufficient charity or, what would be worse, of a patronizing charity, Abbé Pierre saw clearly when he was still a twelve-year-old boy. He had seen his father helping a poor man and becoming embarrassed when the latter said: "Thank you, sir. Now what can I do in return?" On their way home, the father had told his son: "This man wanted by all means to return the little favor I did him. And how awkward I was. It's very hard, Henri, to be worthy of those who suffer." He never forgot the lesson. Those whom the community of Emmaus has gathered since 1955, families from tarpaulin homes, tramps, ex-convicts, adolescent offenders, and those whose daily life Abbé Pierre shares, have discovered again their human dignity, their sense of responsibility, the true meaning of life. Emmaus is much more than an Emergency City which shelters the bodies; it is a city of resurrected souls, where each one finds himself by helping his neighbor, saves himself in saving others, knows the joy of receiving, but also that of giving. Freedom of conscience is respected